ATLAS NOVUS:
KAWADA KIKUJI'S *CHIZU* (*THE MAP*) AND POSTWAR JAPANESE PHOTOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

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By

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This dissertation explores a vital moment in the history of Japanese photography through a sustained monographic analysis of Kawada Kikuji's 1965 photobook *Chizu* (*The Map*). Through this first full-length English-language study on Kawada's early work, I argue that *Chizu* is a palimpsest, where Kawada mobilizes both the malleability and medium-specificity of photography to create a temporal atlas of postwar Japan. *Chizu* is not legible cartography, but instead is an archival universe where the atomic bomb and its victims, Japan's past military aggressions, and national narratives of ruin and growth are interwoven in a state of temporal confusion and perpetual haunting.

Chizu is also wedged chronologically and theoretically between two periods in the history of Japanese photography: the early 1950s hegemony of postwar "realism" and the avant-garde project of *Provoke* in the late 1960s and 1970s. My dissertation intersects a sociopolitical and psychological history of postwar Japan with visual and iconographic analysis, accompanied by comparative frameworks of contemporaneous publications that also dealt with the subjects of the atomic bomb, the Second World War, and the political unrest of the early 1960s. By structuring the dissertation around the three major thematic categories that I have identified within the visual language of the photobook—the "stains" of the Atomic Bomb Dome, the "memorial goods" of

the Second World War, and the “signs of the present”—I dissect and contextualize the temporal layering and theoretical stakes at work within *Chizu*’s complex network of traces.

Chizu’s enormous significance lies in its refusal to settle on a firm aesthetic or theoretical language of photography, preferring instead to alternatively mobilize and refute indexicality, to put forward a multisensory experience of the photograph, and to cast assumptions about photography’s legibility into deep suspicion. I argue that this is a singular gesture of the period, one born not from individual subjectivity as dogmatic artistic ideology, but instead from an existential state of questioning the foundations of photography's relationship to time, to index, and to legible narrative. Finally, I argue that *Chizu* stands as an important artistic illumination of the concept of a *longue durée* violence: In this case, a violence continuously and insidiously enacted on a body of citizenry well before and well after the zero hour event of the atomic bomb.

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And maps can really point to places
Where life is evil now

— W.H. Auden, “In Time of War” (1939)

Introduction

This project began several years ago out of an enduring scholarly and personal interest in artistic responses to the Japanese experience of the dropping of atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945. Having previously analyzed atomic bomb survivor (*hibakusha*) witness art in relationship to trauma and collective memory, and studied photojournalism under the Allied Occupation of Japan in relationship to censorship and epistemological dysphoria, I was especially intrigued and profoundly moved when I first spent an extended period of time with Kawada Kikuji’s (1931–) photobook *Chizu* (*The Map*) (Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1965).

As an object, it is unique for its time in terms of its form and phenomenological demands. As a document of postwar and post-atomic Japan, I hadn’t yet encountered an artist or photographer whose work spoke with such searing attention to the innumerable complexities of memory, identity, loss, and recovery that were left in the wake of Japan’s atomic experience. More than anything, I was particularly struck by the concept of cartography in relationship to these issues: Did Kawada’s photobook posit the existence of some kind of potential for a postwar and post-atomic “atlas novus” after Blaeu or Ortelius’s early modern projects? And what does it mean to ask in 1965, as the cover for the original photobook jacket suggests, “where is our map now?” (*ware ware no chizu wa doko ni aru ka?*).

When I began my research in Japan, the renewed threat of nuclear war was not present in American and European news cycles the way that it has intermittently but increasingly in the

months since Donald Trump's election (the presence of this threat is obviously quite different in Japan, not only due to its own history with the reality of atomic weapons, but also due to its proximity to North Korea). However, gradually following the presidential election of 2016, American news and culture outlets both began to dissect the potential of a twenty-first-century version of a mid-twentieth-century history as a very real possibility. In October 2017 the New York Times ran an editorial questioning the size of the US nuclear arsenal, and whether unilateral presidential authority for a nuclear launch without Congress's approval was the best form of an organizational relationship to these apocalyptic weapons.[1] Throughout the summer and autumn of 2017 the popular science and culture radio show and podcast RadioLab ran, and then re-ran, an hour-long episode on the history of the nuclear chain-of-command.[2] And then in the summer of 2017, David Lynch's third season of the cult series "Twin Peaks" debuted on televisions and streaming platforms worldwide.

The "Twin Peaks" revival was an anticipated moment for stalwart fans and newcomers alike: Lynch is known for his intimate, surrealist visions of the universal—nearly biblical—themes of good and evil. His storytelling is about many things: about how the minutiae of microcosmic geographies can give way to temporal looping and unexpected philosophical gestures, about how eternal narratives can be folded into small towns and everyday lives again, and again, and again. Nestled in the amniotic center of the eighteen-hour film "Twin Peaks: The Return" was a surprise that perhaps even the most zealous Lynchian convert couldn't have anticipated. Halfway through a story about a former FBI agent with transdimensional dementia, a

[1] "Opinion | Mr. Trump Alone Can Order a Nuclear Strike. Congress Can Change That." *The New York Times*, October 11, 2017, sec. Opinion.

[2] McEwen, Annie, and Simon Adler. *Nukes*. Podcast. Radiolab. Accessed January 3, 2018. http://www.radiolab.org/story/nukes/.

story about familial reunions and familial heartbreak, a story about a prom queen named Laura Palmer who was murdered in 1989, a story about where evil lives in the nooks and crannies and what forces exist in the world to ward it off—halfway through what was supposed to be the last chapter in this sprawling cinematic narrative, an atomic bomb exploded on-screen.

"JULY 16, 1945. WHITE SANDS, NEW MEXICO. 5:29AM (WMT)," reads the title card, just before the explosion. The words disappear from the screen, and then a countdown begins: distant and muffled. "Ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one"—and the dark landscape of the desert flashes pure white just as the first terrifying, shrieking notes of Penderecki's *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima* pierce the silence. The explosion starts small, far in the distance, like a infant jellyfish wriggling forth from some surreal ocean floor. But as Lynch forces the camera closer and closer to the monstrous, ravenous shape of the mushroom cloud and the consuming tendrils of the shockwave, the question nudges forward from the back of one's brain, even as the visual horror grows: "What is *this* doing in a television show in the twenty-first century?"

Even as a student of post-nuclear and postwar Japan, as someone who studies the way in which artists have responded to nuclear weapons and their subsequent traumas, I found Lynch's atomic interjection profound and distressing. I had not expected it. I had not expected that Lynch, even as a member of the Boomer generation, would posit nearly 30 years after the end of the Cold War that what happened at the Trinity test site in 1945 set off a global trauma that reverberated into corners of America and corners of the world that had never even heard the words "Hiroshima" or "Nagasaki," or that what happened with the successful detonation of the first atomic weapon was a chain reaction of horror that never truly dissipated. I had not expected

that he would look directly to his viewers and say without apology: at the center of all evil is a split atom.

Perhaps it should not have been so surprising. Since the nuclear power plant reactor meltdown at Fukushima Dai-ichi in 2011, since the even more recent turn toward reactionary political stances on global nuclear weapons de-proliferation and disarmament policies, since the 2016 presidential American election ushered in echoes of Cold War-era atomic standoffs (this time, between the United States and North Korea)—the reality of the potential threats and potential traumas of nuclear destruction unfortunately makes Lynch's artistic vision all too relevant again.

I have never thought the work of this dissertation *not* relevant to social and political context, however. How artists have over the years absorbed, responded to, and interpreted the histories of atomic weapons and atomic reality is always salient for discussions about national memory, hegemonic political narratives about safety and power, and about how trauma can be manifested across media and across generations. But I did not anticipate at the outset of my research that my work on this single Japanese photographer from the first decades following the end of the Second World War would end up offering insight into the present geo-political and intellectual moment: a moment where the cover of *Harper's* magazine in December 2017 would feature the ballooning form of the mushroom cloud (Figure 1), announcing a forum feature entitled "Destroyer of Worlds: Taking Stock of our Nuclear Present,"[3] the purposes of which, said the editors, was to "call attention to the bomb's ever-present menace and point our way toward a world in which it finally ceases to exist." A moment where the *Bulletin of Atomic*

[3] Scarry, Elaine, Eric Schlosser, Lydia Millet, Mohammed Hanif, Rachel Bronson, Theodore Postol. "Destroyer of Worlds: Taking Stock of our Nuclear Present," *Harper's Magazine* (December 2017): 23-33.

Scientists' Doomsday Clock is at the time of my writing this sentence sitting at two and a half minutes to midnight—the closest it has been to the organization's zero-hour since 1953.[4]

What the subject of this dissertation has to say about the current moment is not necessarily all doom and gloom. But the goal of this project is to contextualize fully a period in time in which a single artist set out to draw an atlas of the world around him through the medium of photography: a world that was terrifying and confusing in ways that much of his own country (and even he himself) did not fully comprehend, a world that had only two decades prior experienced the first time an atomic weapon was ever used on a human population, and a world for which there was no precedent history written on this kind of fallout from this kind of event, no history written to help them understand how to move forward with conviction and surety. What Kawada Kikuji's photobook *Chizu* (*The Map*) attempts to do is to take this particular historical moment of alienation, existentialism, and disorientation and, using the tools of photography (the medium that even through the 1950s was still associated with factual information, indexicality, and truth-claims), create a temporal atlas. It is nothing like one would expect from "a map." Instead of schematic clarity, we are shown a fragmentary, stratified archaeology of layered images—their meanings change depending on how they are revealed. Instead of environmental or personal orientation, we are given illegibility. As a traditional map, *Chizu* deliberately fails. Instead, it succeeds like no photographic work before it in capturing simultaneous narratives of national confusion, conflicting memories of trauma, and ambivalence about artistic practice and artistic vision.

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[4] *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, "It Is Two and a Half Minutes to Midnight: 2017 Doomsday Clock Statement," thebulletin.org, https://thebulletin.org/sites/default/files/Final%202017%20Clock%20Statement.pdf (Accessed December 10, 2017). Since 2007, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has also taken into account the effects of climate change on global catastrophe, along with the proliferation and use of nuclear weapons.

Kawada Kikuji was born in 1933 in Tsuchiura, Ibaraki Prefecture; he attended university in Tokyo, at Rikkyō University, graduating in 1955 with an economics degree. In an interview with the scholar Iizawa Kōtarō, Kawada states that he began taking photographs in junior high school, and that he continued to practice photography throughout his time at university as a member of Rikkyō's photography club.[5] Shortly after graduation he was hired as a staff photographer for the Shinchōsha publishing company, where he worked for their news magazine *Shūkan Shinchō* (Weekly Shinchō), before beginning a period of freelance work in 1959. The first year of this freelance period is also the moment during which he joined forces with Tōmatsu Shōmei (1930–2012), Hosoe Eikoh (1933–), Narahara Ikkō (1931–), and others to form the photo agency known as VIVO.

Kawada's involvement with the VIVO group marks him as an important actor in a particular moment within the trajectory of Japanese photography. The members of VIVO—although largely working separately and from distinct stylistic and theoretical positions—most generally could be thought of as the connective tissue between two hegemonic moments in Japanese photography spanning from the 1930s to the 1970s. On the one end are those photographers who began their careers before the Second World War and who were concerned with a theory and style of "realism" and *reportage*: Domon Ken (1909–1990), Natori Yōnosuke (1910–1962), Hamaya Hiroshi (1915-1999), and Kimura Ihei (1901–1974). On the other side are the riotous avant-garde moves of the *Provoke* era, with Moriyama Daidō (1938–) often placed at the head of the charge that strove to destabilize conventional systems of meaning-making through both image and text.

[5] Iizawa Kōtarō, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito gaisuto [jidai seishin / zeitgeist] wo shikakuka suru hōhō, kikite = Iizawa Kōtarō,*" [Visualization method of the zeitgeist, Interviewer = Iizawa Kōtarō] Iizawa Kōtarō, ed, *Nihon no shashinka 33: Kawada Kikuji* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 3.

Some of Kawada's earliest published photography, such as the photographs taken from the series "The Children of Tachikawa Base," shows a choice of subject matter and aesthetic approach consistent with that of Domon's realist mantra of the "absolutely unstaged snapshot," and an adherence to the *reportage* style popular in the pages of major photography magazines of the 1950s. Kawada's photographic series of everyday life at Tachikawa Base was selected for publication in *Camera* magazine in 1953, when Domon was a regular judge for the monthly selections. Kawada has acknowledged an enormous debt to Domon and his photographic doctrine, but has also remarked that by the late 1950s, he began to find this approach "limiting," and that his own images—especially after his period at Shinchōsha—began to take on a quality of "imageness" or of the "iconic" rather than the aesthetics associated with Domon's "realism."[6]

Kawada has written about this period as "groping for a new style,"[7] and it is clear that the materials and influences with which he was engaging were varied and seemingly disparate: Art Brut, especially Jean Dubuffet (revealing an interest in the grotesque, in the idea of surface, and in surface texture), Francisco Goya (reflections on war and history, psychological states, and fantastical sites of imagination), and the explorations of prewar Japanese Surrealism. However, the most central looming issue in Kawada's work of this period is the recent past of the Second World War, an event with which Kawada, like Tōmatsu, has expressed having a tenuous and complicated relationship. It is in this context, and under these conditions, that Kawada began photographing for the project that would eventually become *Chizu* (*The Map*).

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[6] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito gaisuto,*" 63-64. Iizawa uses the word "*eizōteki*," no doubt in reference to Watanabe Tsutomu's use of the term in his important *Asahi Camera* essay, "New Tendencies in Photographic Expression," published in September 1960. For more on the rhetoric and discourse around *eizō,* see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[7] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito gaisuto,*" 64.

In 1959, Kawada began the project by traveling to the city of Hiroshima. Approximately half of the photographs that comprise the photobook are closely cropped images of the interior walls and ceilings of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, colloquially known as the A-bomb Dome (*genbaku dōmu*). As one of the sole surviving architectural structures within the epicenter of the bomb's blast, the *genbaku dōmu* had already by 1949 been designated as a significant physical structure in the construction of a memorial complex,[8] but as is clear from Kawada's retelling of his first interaction with the space, it was also already imbued with a certain eerie, timeless, and iconic status. His photographs of the interior, which he originally called "stains" (*shimi*), are divorced from legible context and presented with an almost obsessional attention to texture. They depict the smeary, flaking skin and cracked surface of the walls as a kind of unearthly topography. "Over a decade of wind and rain and daylight had completely dyed the ceiling in a very unexpected way," writes Kawada. "This scene created a vivid hallucination which resisted documentation by photography […] In a brief moment, dozens of people disappeared within a flash of burning rays measuring over 4,000 degrees at the surface, following by the pouring black rain, which, over time, resulted in the sudden appearance of the 'stain.'"[9] These photographs—alongside other photographs categorized as "fortification" and "city"—were first shown in a one-man exhibition at Fuji Photo Salon in November 1961. Several of the "stain" photographs were also published intermittently between 1962 and 1963 in

[8] Architect Tange Kenzō's design brief for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park won the competition in 1949. His Peace Memorial Museum would be completed in 1955. For more on the role of the *genbaku dōmu* in Tange's winning design, see Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999); and Hyunjung Cho, *Competing Futures: War Narratives in Postwar Japanese Architecture 1945-1970* (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2011).

[9] Kawada Kikuji, "The Illusion of the Stain," [*Shimi no iryūjon*], in *Chizu* (*The Map*) (Tokyo: Nazraeli Press in association with Getsuyosha, 2005), 2-3, 12.

the magazines *Nihon Camera* and *Photoart*. As Jimbo Kyōko mentions, Kawada's first use of the term "the map" coincided with these serial photographs for *Photoart* (April 1962).

The second major theme of the 1965 publication—which can be characterized loosely as the material detritus of the past—was first published as a series in the May 1962 issue of *Photoart*, under the title of *Memorial Goods*.[10] These images of wartime relics and contemporary flotsam took in the final publication the forms of heat-ray-damaged sake bottles with distorted, gaping maws, a keloid-scarred arm of a *hibakusha* (A-bomb victim) stretched like surreal fabric, a pile of wiry black hair reflecting the light, photographs of framed memorial photographs of Special Attack Force soldiers over which were superimposed the text of their own wills (*isho*).

The third theme is comprised of stacked television screens with the repeated image of a soldier's head, discarded packs of Lucky Strike cigarettes, the chrysanthemum crest of the Imperial house grimy with shadows, Coca-Cola bottles and neon signs, iron scraps, notices of police investigations, and mug-shots—images of media, consumer culture, nationalism, and violence that speak to the present moment of 1960s Japan. The collision of these seemingly disparate images of architecture, detritus, and the "stains" are what Kawada calls "the sudden encounters and coincidences," which "became the nucleus for *The Map*."[11] The finished photobook—a black-and-white gravure printing with doubled centerfold pages throughout, designed collaboratively alongside Sugiura Kōhei (1932–), and containing prose-poetry contributions by the young writer Ōe Kenzaburō (1935–)—was published in 1965 (Fig. 3).[12]

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[10] Jimbo Kyōko, "*Kamigami ga nokoshita mono* [Celestial Residue]" in Kaneko Ryūichi, Mark Holborn, and Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō-to Shashin Bijutsukan, 2003), 57-58.

[11] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 4, 12.

[12] Iizawa, *Nihon no shashinka 33: Kawada Kikuji*, 4.

I argue that *Chizu* is a palimpsest, pointing simultaneously at multiple sites of inquiry while wedged chronologically and theoretically between the hegemonic "realism" of Domon Ken and the radical project of the *Provoke* era. My study intersects a social and political history with close visual analysis of the photobook *Chizu,* and comparisons with nearly contemporaneous publications such as Domon Ken's *Hiroshima* (1958), Tōmatsu Shōmei's *Nagasaki 11:02* (1966), and their collaborative *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* (1961) to reveal *Chizu*'s enormous significance. Through its radical indirectness of form and message, this photobook intervenes into the solidifying narratives of Japan's recent wartime past and the new political and social tremors of the 1950s and 1960s. This dissertation also explores the various ways in which Kawada's work speaks to an international and multidisciplinary conversation regarding the complex relationship between viewers and images, and the theorization of photography as a singular form of political critique.

While still a relatively nascent field, the dedicated art historical study of Japanese photography has a historiography of its own, and has grown significantly over the past three decades, with scholarly publications in both English and Japanese. The specific area of the history of postwar photography has also grown substantially, as the global popularity and art-market value of the late-twentieth-century work of photographers such as Araki Nobuyoshi (1940–) have spurred an interest in tracing postmodern photography back to its earlier postwar roots. The photography of 1950s–1970s Japan has now been the subject of several significant exhibitions at top-tier museums in America, Europe, and Japan.[13] Perhaps the most important

[13] Beginning with New York's Museum of Modern Art, which hosted the "New Japanese Photography" exhibition in 1974, there have been a great many important single-artist retrospective and thematic exhibitions dealing on the whole or in part with postwar Japanese photography, only a handful of which can be listed here: International Center for Photography, New York, "Japan: A Self-Portrait," 1979;

institution to result from the burgeoning interest in this field is the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography (Tōkyō-to Shashin Bijutsukan), which opened its doors in 1990, and since then has been committed to a mission of the collection and exhibition of the work of important Japanese and international photographers, with an added focus on accruing an archival collection of the most comprehensive research materials relevant to the field of study.

Japanese scholars Iizawa Kōtarō and Kaneko Ryūichi laid the foundation for serious scholarly investigation of postwar Japanese photography, both in their own publications and in their contributions to important English- and Japanese-language edited volumes and exhibition catalogues. Their work, which together has helped to establish some of the most the fundamental issues (and keywords) at stake in the discussion of postwar photography—realism, subjectivity, objectivity, experience, and the forms of the avant-garde—has been the critical brickwork in the establishment of a coherent teleological narrative of Japanese photography in the twentieth century. Without their endeavors, some of the most important English-language scholarly overview volumes on the subject could not have been published, including the 2003 exhibition and publication *The History of Japanese Photography*, edited by Anne-Wilkes Tucker, with significant contributions by Iizawa, Kaneko, Kinoshita Naoyuki, and others.

Recent English-language dissertation work reveals the encouraging fact that younger scholars have begun to expand on and interrogate these foundational narratives. In particular,

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Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, "Eleven Photographers in Japan: 1965-75," 1989; Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, "*Nihon shashin no tenkan: 1960 nendai no hyōgen* / Innovation in Japanese Photography in the 1960s," 1991; Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, "*Nihon no shashin, 1970-nendai: tōketsu sareta toki no kioku* / Japanese Photography in the 1970s: Memories Frozen in Time," 1991; Kiyosato Museum of Photographic Arts, "*25-nin no 20-dai no shashin* / Works by 25 Photographers in their 20s," 1995; Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, "*Nihon no shashin: uchinaru katachi, sotonaru katachi* / Japanese Photography: Form In / Out," 1996; SFMOMA, "Daido Moriyama: Stray Dog," 1999; Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, "Kawada Kikuji: Theatrum Mundi," 2003; SFMOMA, "Tōmatsu Shōmei: Skin of a Nation," 2006; SFMOMA, "The Provoke Era: Postwar Japanese Photography," 2009; Museum of Modern Art (New York), "Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde," 2012.

Thomas O'Leary's "Tokyo Visions: Contemporary Japanese Photography and the Search for a Subjective Documentary" (University of Southern California, 2009), Franz Prichard's "Ruined Maps: The Urban Revolution in Japanese Fiction, Documentary, and Photography of the 1960s and 1970s" (University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), Fujii Yuko's "Photography as Process: A Study of the Japanese Photography Journal *Provoke*" (City University of New York, 2012), and Yoshiaki Kai's "Sunappu: A Genre of Japanese Photography, 1930–1980" (City University of New York, 2012), and are examples of some of the newest sustained critical discourses on the subject of postwar Japanese photography. In their own ways, these projects attempt to intersect the solidifying narrative with incisive visual analysis and considered theoretical work on photographic practice, often dissecting the established narratives with in-depth monographic work and genre-specific analysis.

While often being featured in the above-mentioned exhibitions and publications, Kawada Kikuji himself has been the subject of only one major museum exhibition: the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography's *Kawada Kikuji: Theatrum Mundi,* in 2003.[14] This exhibition, and its accompanying catalogue, is the first retrospective study of Kawada's work attempted by a major institution, and its contribution to the field is significant in its ambitious attempt to chart the entirety of Kawada's career. In addition to giving attention to process and design, that is, respecting the reality of the photobook-as-object (this is achieved by the inclusion of several "dummy" versions of Kawada's photobooks and considerable attention paid to the significant contribution of Sugiura Kōhei's book design), the catalogue also reprints in Japanese several important essays by contemporary critics, including two essential responses from 1965: Shibusawa Tatsuhiko (tasso shibusawa)'s "*Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki* (The stain on

[14] Another important exhibition treatment of Kawada's work was the "Beyond Japan: A Photo Theatre" exhibition at the Barbican Gallery, in London, in 1991, with scholarly contributions by Mark Holborn.

the wall and the groan of humanity)," originally published in December in the architecture and design magazine *SD*, and Takashina Shuji's "*Shashinshū = Kawada Kikuji: Chizu* (The Photobook = Kawada Kikuji: The Map)", published in *Dezain* (*Design*) also in December of 1965. These two essays in particular are important pieces of contextual discourse often excluded in discussion of Kawada's work: that is, evidence of contemporary reception of Kawada's first publication is often overshadowed by other theoretical discourses of the period, such as the 1960 Tōmatsu-Natori debates on realism and *reportage*.

Despite the success of the field thus far in determining several important narratives of twentieth-century Japanese photography, and despite the existence of several serious and in-depth monographs and exhibitions focusing on single photographers (Tōmatsu and Moriyama in particular are popular subjects in this regard), there has yet to be a single sustained study focusing only on Kawada's photographic production from the 1950s and 1960s.[15] *Chizu*, in particular, because it is a nuanced, layered, and rich body of work, and because it opens onto a multitude of issues, deserves to be considered alongside the established important works of the period with a serious and full-length study. This dissertation, therefore, offers the first sustained English-language contextualization of Kawada's *Chizu*. I will attend to the complexity of the work through a varied methodological approach, incorporating social art history, theoretical discourses on photography, and sustained visual analysis.

Within the established academic narrative of Japanese photography, Kawada's photographic output has yet to be figured in a way that fully attends to its significance as a powerful, disruptive voice in the arena of 1960s Japanese art. Recent scholarly work on artistic intervention in the tumultuous political environment of this period in Japanese history focuses

[15] The exception to this lacuna is the 2003 exhibition at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, in particular those parts of the exhibition which gave considerable attention to Kawada's early work.

primarily on those artists whose work can be categorized as highly performative and explicitly engaging with the public quotidian space of the urban and the everyday.[16] Avant-garde groups such as Gutai, Hi Red Center, Jikken Kōbō, and Zero Jigen are generally historicized through their relationship to explicit political critique or through the integration of artistic expression and everyday public life. Scholars have only recently begun to contextualize certain early postwar Japanese photographers and their publications within a similar framework of explicit political critique. Kawada's artistic production has yet to be fully contextualized in this way, despite the fact that its aesthetic approach, choice of subject matter, and relationship to the viewer demand this form of interrogation.

Prewar and wartime photographers and photography theorists such as Natori Yōnosuke conceived of photography as a tool inherently suited to the means and ends of propaganda. They claimed that its ability to capture the world through indexical mechanisms was a method of communicating a clear educational message in the service of state interests. Conversely, in the postwar period, through his explicit obfuscation of these claims about photography's clear relationship to the exterior world, Kawada reveals photography as a tool equally suited to a critical interrogation of these national, if not entirely propagandistic, narratives. Therefore, Kawada's early photographic work slices across much of the established comprehensive narrative of the trajectory of twentieth-century Japanese photography, and reveals the possibility of the photographer as an entirely different form of political actor, well before the leaders of the

[16] See: William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013); Tomii Reiko, "State v. (Anti-) Art: Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident by Akasegawa Genpei and Company," *positions: east asia cultures critique,* 10, 1 (spring 2002): 141-172; Charles Merewether, ed, *Art, Anti-art, Non-art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan 1950-1970* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007).

Provoke projects began to question the nature of the image and its relationship to meaning-making in the late 1960s.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation situates Kawada's photographic production within a lineage of twentieth-century Japanese photography. I examine Kawada's early work alongside that of the other VIVO members, most especially within the important *Jūnin-no-me* (*Eyes of Ten*) exhibitions of 1957–1959, which both provided the impetus for the VIVO photo agency itself and established a consistent collaborative exhibition platform for those young photographers who felt disenchanted with the "perceived conservative mode" of Domon and his colleagues.[17] I trace the history of realism back to its roots in 1920s and 1930s avant-garde photography, and analyze how these modes and methods of photography were cannibalized by propaganda efforts during the Second World War, requiring early postwar photographers like Domon Ken and Kimura Ihee to reevaluate what objective photography looked liked, what it could do, and what it was for.

In this contextual work, I establish both shared concerns and spaces of divergence in Kawada's approach to photographic practice, and argue that already in the late 1950s, Kawada was examining subjects and techniques that would be central to his 1965 publication. Although many of the first-generation postwar photographers have spoken about their indebtedness to, but at the same time, unhappiness with, the previous generation's particular approach to photography, I specifically interrogate these claims through visual analysis and contextual investigation of Kawada's early VIVO work in order to determine which elements of the established practice were maintained, and which elements were being directly challenged. I argue that through the

[17] O'Leary, Thomas, "Tokyo Visions: Contemporary Japanese Photography and the Search for a Subjective Documentary" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2009), 30.

particular characteristics of VIVO as a collection of photographers who formed organically and encouraged one another to seek out individual lines of questioning within their work, Kawada was able to arrive at a pivotal moment in his career—one where he was interested in questions about how photography could represent concepts of time, loss, and symbolism, rather than a realist vision of the world.

In Chapter 2, I begin my analysis of *Chizu* with a full deconstruction of the photobook's form and design. I trace the history of its coming-into-being, and the importance of the collaborative forces behind its final publication. Then, I make the argument that the first thematic category of *Chizu*—that of the "stains" that Kawada found on the walls and ceilings of the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Dome—present a multivalent theory of photography's relationship to indexicality and time. I argue that because the prewar photographers largely theorized photography as doing the work of an "objective" eye, these theoretical underpinnings of the practice also demanded at times that photography be conceived of as a purely *optical* medium. A close visual reading of *Chizu,* and of the "stains" in particular, reveals that Kawada is explicitly engaging with questions about photography's relationship to the tactile and the haptic (as well as the negotiation between index and experience) to destabilize further the hegemonic idea of the "objective" as central to photographic practice.

Kawada's work resisted dominant modes of professional photography from the late 1950s through his insistence upon a multisensory experience for the photographer, the viewer, and the medium. From this assertion, I establish a theoretical framework through which I examine how Kawada's photography might transcend the limits of sight and the optical. Scholars such as Roland Barthes, Geoffrey Batchen, Mark Paterson, and Cathryn Vasseleu have all argued for different ways in which photography specifically, but also vision more generally, is bound up

with the sense of touch and the haptic. In general, the discourse hinges on two distinct systems of language and two distinct conceptions of the nature of "touch." The first is the language of the literal, where the manner in which seeing and touch are imbricated in the process of photography—the indexical fingerprinting of light touching the film—is re-inscribed through the experience of holding, shuffling, and touching the photograph. Batchen and Margaret Olin have both argued along these lines, where Batchen argues that "photography is perhaps the most potent site for any modern discourse about the relations of vision and touch," precisely because of its quality of "chemical fingerprint," and its image-as-object quality.[18]

The second way in which scholars discuss this issue, however, is through the language of the metaphorical and the phenomenologically affective. These theories largely emanate from Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida*, where he defines the *punctum* as the indefinable emotional content of a photograph, which may arise from any innocuous detail or element, but which most importantly is coded by Barthes in the language of touch. The *punctum*, for Barthes, is an accidental pricking, or a bruising, of poignancy, which is characterized as a thread of affect that connects the content and surface of the photograph with the skin and emotion of the viewer. [19] *Chizu*, I argue, through the necessity of physical interaction with the object (the double centerfold pages) and its depiction of the textured, layered surfaces of the past and present, insists on photography's relationship both to the physical and affective modes of the haptic and the tactile.

Chapter 2 also situates *Chizu* within a comparative framework of contemporaneous photobook publications that also dealt explicitly with World War II and the atomic bomb. The three most important works of the 1950s and 1960s that engage directly with this topic are two

[18] Batchen, Geoffrey, "Touché: Photography, Touch, Vision," *Photofile* 47 (March 1996): 6-13, 10.

[19] Barthes, Roland. *Camera Ludica: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981, 26-27.

individual publications—Domon's *Hiroshima* (1958, Kenkōsha) and Tōmatsu's *11:02 Nagasaki* (1966, Shashin Dojinsha)—and one collaborative publication, Domon and Tōmatsu's *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* (1961, Gensuibaku Kinshi Nihon Kyōgiku). These particular publications lend more nuance to the discussion of Kawada's *Chizu*; through close visual comparison I argue that it is not merely the distinction of intended audience that gives these publications such a markedly different final appearance and affective impact than that of *Chizu*. Governing the production of these photobooks—whether it be Domon's or Tōmatsu's hand at play—is an underlying adherence to optical directness, to a frank visual confrontation with that which sits in front of the camera lens (or in front of the photographer). These comparative analyses will strengthen my claim that the significance of Kawada's early photographic publication comes precisely from his elision of the direct, the transparent, and the easily comprehensible.

Chapter 3 analyzes the content and formal qualities of these photographs that are part of the photobook's second theme of *kinenbutsu* ("memorial goods") to investigate the competing narratives of memories of victimhood and memories of aggression contained within them, and to contextualize the significance of this inherently ambiguous, conflicted message within the postwar discourses of the atomic bomb and the Allied Occupation. I argue that Kawada's singular message hinges on the issue of legibility, and that the conditions of illegibility inherent in this section of photographs from *Chizu* act as a reflection of the confusion around "illegible bodies" and contradictory narratives about citizenry and belonging in postwar Japan.

The way in which discourses of the body and postwar narratives of the war Japan resolve inside Kawada's *Chizu* is, I argue, precisely through this lens of legibility. The photographs categorized in the photobook's second theme of "memorial goods" are all representations of

highly complex and often contradictory narratives of who is remembered, who is forgotten, and in what venues these processes were allowed within the context of post-Hiroshima, post-Nagasaki Japan. As metonyms for these different narratives, the objects in the photographs become deeply symbolic nodes in Kawada's temporal network: standing in for deferred grief, for shifting notions of survivorhood, for a stifled national mourning and national repentance. And yet, it is not only the subjects of the photographs that serve this symbolic function. Even more significant is the manner in which Kawada photographs them, manipulates them, and organizes them within the photobook.

The extreme overall lack of visual clarity is perhaps the most significant. Whether it is the obfuscated text from the last wills of the members of the Special Attack Corps, the confusing smear of light across the glass of a museum vitrine, the doubled reflection of the Atomic Bomb Dome in the water of the Ōta River, or the surreal slippage of the form of a keloid scar, none of the *kinenbutsu* photographs communicate their content directly to the viewer. They hang suspended in liminal visual space, constantly and imperceptibly resolving into moments of comprehension and then dissolving back into abstraction. They are meant to be fundamentally unstable and only ever half-legible. Even more poignantly, their illegibility is equivalent. The smeared and overexposed calligraphy of the *Tokkōtai* pilots has the same clouded quality as the atomic bomb relics. By visually relating them, by consciously forcing these images together within the pages of *Chizu*, Kawada's photobook argues that these are two postwar narratives of the past that have been manipulated into oversimplification, and kept at an overdetermined distance from one another. The unstable images and illegible inscriptions in *Chizu* echo the lack of meaning given to *hibakusha* about the violent inscriptions within and upon their own bodies,

and they reflect back at the postwar Japanese reader a sense of confusion and about how to mourn, celebrate, or remember their own dead.

The fourth and final chapter of the dissertation takes on an analysis of the last theme of *Chizu*, that of the "signs of the present" and the context of media and violence within 1960s Japan. Although *Chizu* never directly visualizes the tumultuous politics of the 1960s—the legacy of the 1950s economic boom, the ANPO protests, the continued American military presence, the Vietnam War, and the narrative of Japan's postwar recovery and redemption during preparations for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics—it is precisely Kawada's use of the implicit signs of capital, consumption, and nationhood, prefigured in a state of perpetual ruin, which deliberately up-end the assumption that by 1965 the "scars" inflicted on the body of the Japanese nation had healed over to become neat, clean, and completely legible narratives of victimhood and redemption.[20]

Instead, Kawada's photographs of the "signs of the present" can be read as melancholic objects—open temporal wounds—through the visual equivalency of the architectural scarring and detritus of the past (the walls of the *genbaku dōmu*, the textual and photographic remnants of a soldier's life) and the ruinous state of the present and future (the scattered bits of industrial manufacture, the degraded image of a television screen). This, I will argue, is a statement of dissatisfaction both with Japan's narratives of its past and present, and with the perceived limits of postwar photographic practice.

[20] This argument hinges on Igarashi Yoshikuni's narrative of postwar Japanese history and memory as put forward in his *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). As Igarashi argues, the postwar Japanese embodied individual was not necessarily denied his or her status *as* body, or even damaged body, to a certain extent. Instead, "the body as a site of historical reconstruction" was "discursively transformed in postwar Japanese history. Scars on the cleansed surface of the 'body' were rendered decipherable; they became the symbols of the past struggle that paved the way for Japan's postwar economic success" (Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 168-169).

Chapter 1
Legacies, VIVO, and the *Jūnin-no-me* Exhibitions

1.1 Introduction

In its April 1958 issue, *Photoart* magazine ran a series of eight photographs by the young photographer Kawada Kikuji (1931–). The series, part of *Photoart*'s *honshi takusha* ("magazine exclusive") feature was titled "Living With Domon Ken" (*Domon Ken: Sono hito to seikatsu*). This series would undoubtedly have been of great interest to the regular readers of *Photoart*—photography professionals, critics, and hobbyists alike—as Domon Ken occupied a rarefied position of influence within the world of late-1950s Japanese photography. Domon (1909–1990) was the fiercest proponent of a photographic style and sometimes ideological approach known as "realism" (*riarizumu*), and he solidified his role as one of the most important artistic voices of the first decade of postwar Japan through his prolific photography publications, exhibitions, and monthly columns in magazines such as *Camera* and *Photoart*. For the younger generation of postwar photographers like Kawada Kikuji, Domon was the preeminent photographer and the singular teacher from which to learn. Mastering his "realism," which was by the late-1950s the dominant style represented in nearly all the major trade and critical publications, was seen as a guaranteed entry point into the world of professional photography.[21]

In his *Domon Ken: Sono hito to seikatsu* series, Kawada is unmistakably using the visual language of Domon's photographic realism to capture the father of realism himself as he goes about his day. These eight photographs succinctly demonstrate the way in which a young photographer of the postwar period would have absorbed and implemented Domon's ideas, his approach to photographic practice and composition, and the social value of realist photography for which its proponents argued. By pairing a visual analysis of these photographs alongside

[21] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015. Tokyo, Japan.

Domon's critical texts on realism, this series can also offer insight into how a younger generation of professional and amateur photographers sought to interpret Domon's hegemonic style in their own terms, at a moment when it seemed as though the powerful light of realism's star might actually be waning.

The series' lead photograph shows Domon, close-cropped and from the chest-up, with his head bowed (Figure 2). The arc of his receding hairline and his shiny forehead occupy the center of the image, with the frames of his thick, black glasses partially obscuring his lowered eyes. The hunch of his black-clad shoulders takes up nearly the bottom half of the image, while above his head there is only a blank wall, crowned somewhat awkwardly with the corner of a blurry, framed piece of calligraphy. The photograph shows Domon in a relatively humble posture, but his face and bulk still dominate the composition, opening this visual essay with a kind of meditative, kingly portrait. For Domon, consideration for these kinds of compositional choices was a key element in realist photography, most especially in its ability to entice or elicit an emotional reaction in the viewer. Portraiture of this type—closely cropped and with very little negative space around the subject—was for Domon the quintessential way for a photographer to capture an image that allowed the viewer to enter into the emotional reality of the person being photographed.[22] In his August 1953 essay published in *Camera* magazine, Domon diagrammed the way in which a particular subject (and indeed, the results were always dependent on what the subject was, be it animal, human, city scene, or religious statuary) could be photographed

[22] Thomas, Julia Adeney. "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (May 1, 2008): 365–94, 384. Thomas argues that Domon's claims to the nature of photography are not that of medium-specificity, or "the ontological status the image produces," but instead that of "how the camera is used." She mobilizes the important example of Domon's approach to composition via the tripartite diagrams of chairs published in *Camera* magazine in August 1953, demonstrating Domon's emphasis on the "training of the photographer's eye," which this chapter's introduction will also analyze in relationship to Kawada Kikuji's own understanding and deployment of realist photography.

according to different compositional arrangements. In these schematics (Figure 3), a chair is shown in three varying compositional arrangements, ranging from neutral to most emotionally potent. For the first, the one in which Domon claims for neutrality, the chair is shown in the center of the image, equally balanced on all sides by negative space. “It fills the space,” says Domon, “the necessary amount to become furniture,” best suited for a photograph of either a “newly-designed” or an historical chair of some value.[23] In other words, visual information only. In the second and third schematic drawings, Domon demonstrates how shifting the distance and relative height of the horizon line can introduce an inherent emotional component to the photograph. In drawing B, he argues that in photographing it from above and creating an unbalanced negative space above the chair, “there is now the sense that the chair is in an empty room, that this is a chair in which no one is sitting.”[24] This, says Domon, “invites feelings” (*omoi o izanau koto ni naru*) about the chair.[25] Finally, by distancing oneself even further from the chair and by raising the horizon line, the photographer can, according to Domon, intensify those feelings, just as it intensifies the significance of the empty room and the empty chair. In this last example, Domon argues, there is the sense that someone has just vacated the chair, and the feeling is such that “their footsteps still echo” (*iwaba ashioto ga hibiku no de aru*).[26]

These various forms of spatial composition were not, for Domon, photographic manipulation, at least not in a sense that would be antithetical to his claims of realism. Instead, it revealed a photographer’s skill: a skill of both knowing and being able to capture the reality in

[23] Domon Ken, “*Futatabi shōhei no shashin ni tsuite: Gamen no amasa to reariteī*," *Camera* 42, No. 8 (August 1953): 157-159, 157.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

front of the camera in such as way so as to best transmit both the visual fact *and* emotional fact of the scene which the image captured. For a chair, perhaps in a space in which the emotional fact was that of absence or longing, the most emotionally effective composition required distance. But for that of a human being, especially in portraiture, a composition that best allowed the viewer into the human subject's emotional "orbit" (as Julia Thomas astutely analyzes),[27] was one of the most important components in a successful realist photograph.

For Kawada Kikuji, photographing a portrait (and indeed multiple photographs) of Domon Ken, striking the balance between successfully transmitting to the magazine's readers a kind of emotional intimacy with Domon and ensuring the apparent lack of artifice or staging, would have been paramount in this exclusive *Photoart* series. Following the lead portrait of Domon himself, Kawada's next seven photographs exemplify the way in which a young student of photography attempted to capture what by the late-1950s had become the war-cry of realism, Domon's "absolutely unstaged snapshot." Coined in his 1953 essay, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture," Domon defined the importance of the absolutely unstaged snapshot as such:

> If there is even the slightest hint of pose, artificiality, or performance in the photograph—no matter how well it is composed, or how demonstrative it might be—with time, and with repeated viewing, it will not hold up. The very foundation of such a photograph is weak: it will fail to maintain interest. It is only when there is not even the vaguest taint of falseness in the photograph that it may rightly be termed "absolutely unstaged." Even a photograph that is at first captivating and seems a wonderful masterpiece will, if it has any element of artificiality, eventually lose its impact as one continues to look at it, because there is a defilement that worked its way into the image at the very moment the shutter was released.[28]

[27] Thomas, "Power Made Visible," 384.

[28] Domon Ken, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture," as reproduced in Vartanian, Ivan, Akihiro Hatanaka, and Yutaka Kanbayashi, eds. *Setting Sun: Writings By Japanese Photographers*. New York: Aperture, 2005, 23. Domon's essay was originally printed in *Camera* magazine as "*Rearizumu shashin to saron pikuchua*," *Camera* 42, No. 10 (October 1953): 185-187.

Therefore, on the one hand, the "absolutely unstaged snapshot" (*zettai sunappu, zettai hienshutsu*) was integral to realist photography because of its ability to maintain interest, an idea that was implicitly linked to photography's so-called truth-claims: if a photograph is a record of a past moment exactly as it happened, it can only maintain interest as such and through time if the photographer has not attempted to manipulate or stage that moment as anything other than what has occurred in front of the lens. On the other hand, the absolutely unstaged snapshot was for Domon and the realists also significant because of its ability to manifest as a socially conscious and socially positive art form. "Only in photographic Realism," continues Domon, in the same essay:

> [W]hich has as its basic tenet the absolutely unstaged snapshot—has the potential to connect directly with societal reality. In photography, there can be nothing more impure or self-destructive than to imitate a painting, or to have a model pose [...] To depict a societal reality, the photographer himself is already equipped—in his very person—with the absolutely unstaged snapshot, for which the camera mechanism provides the ideal vehicle. [...] In other words, photographic Realism looks directly at reality, and points reality in *a better direction*: it is a resistant mode, of which photography is the perfect manifestation.[29]

In Kawada's photographs for *Photoart*, the first valence of realism—that of the visual language of the candid snapshot (*sunappu*)—is prominently on display. Kawada photographs a vaguely chronological series of images showing Domon sharing a meal with his family, attending an art exhibition in the Ginza area of Tokyo, pausing to remove his shoes outside a doorway, browsing at a popular bookstore, in the midst of his own photographic work, and finally, sitting down in the evening to judge photographs for an upcoming issue of *Photoart*. In all these photographs, Kawada positions himself as an invisible observer, snapping moments of everyday intimacy and everyday work in Domon's life with apparently none of the realist-

[29] Domon, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture," in *Setting Sun*, 24-25.

abhorred artificiality or staging. In the image titled “Three generations, parent and child” (*Oyako sendai*) (Figure 4), Domon and his mother Tomie are photographed at the table, sharing a meal: Tomie is either lifting or setting down a dish, but the motion of her hand, positioned just right of true center, is blurred. Here, a technical imperfection is deployed in the service of candidness. The rest of the image is beautifully focused, with a highly contrasted play of light and dark that suggests the warm and shadowy room, the steam gently rising from the stovetop at the far left, the comfort with which Domon and his mother share food in silence. In yet another of Kawada’s images, “Before photographing, in Enchi Fumiko’s study,” [*Satsuei-mae, Enchi Fumiko no shosai nite*] (Figure 5), Domon and Enchi (1905-1989) (also known as Ueda Fumiko, the Japanese author of *Masks* and *The Waiting Years*) are captured in a moment of genial discussion. On the far right of the photograph’s edge, Enchi sits at her desk in her ubiquitous kimono, her pen lifted just off a sheet of paper, and her mouth half-open as if speaking. Domon himself stands at the opposite edge of the frame, hands folded in front of his stomach, smiling, with his head tilted toward his left shoulder. In the wide space between them, there is a low bulwark of books, a jauntily leaning lamp, and a wide expanse of leaded windows letting in the light. Despite compositionally being an image-length’s apart, there is a visible charged line of connection between them, through gaze and through body language—they are turned toward each other and obviously reactive, caught in a moment of shared mirth. The viewer of this photograph is therefore positioned as an obvious but inherently welcomed intruder on several levels: opening up an ostensibly private conversation between two artists, but also as an intruder into Domon’s photographic process. In captioning the image “*satsuei-mae,*” Kawada is lending his photography of Domon a sense of the backstage, letting the viewer in to observe a moment of the process where no camera is obviously present, subtly buoying Domon’s claims that the

realist photographer is "already equipped—in his very person [...] to depict a societal reality."[30] The camera is not an afterthought, but it is entirely dependent on the human body of the photographer and his relationship toward others.

Another Kawada photograph points to the idea of the backstage entry, in multiple layers. Entitled "Shooting Kōshirō, in the Kabuki troupe dressing room," (*Kōshirō wo toru, kabuki-za gakuya nite*), the photograph shows Domon gripping his camera in both hands, raised up to his forehead and turned onto its side, the lens jutting out at the level of his temple. In the mirror to Domon's left, we see the Kabuki actor Mastumoto Kōshirō VIII (1910-1982) applying makeup, one hand lifted to his forehead—his jutting elbow a shrewd compositional echo of Domon's own bent arms.[31] While Kōshirō's face is neutral as he performs his task, Domon peers out from under the shadow of his arm with a grimace, looking away from his subject with his teeth bared and eyebrows furrowed. Kawada has here caught Domon mid-consideration—perhaps of the lighting, or of his own body in relation to Kōshirō's. In photographing this insight into Domon Ken at work on his own photography, Kawada chooses to highlight a moment that reveals something of what happens *before* Domon's finger presses down on the shutter: further subtle evidence of the way in which a young photographer like Kawada would have internalized the nuances of Domon's realism.

For Domon's theories, this sense of pause or consideration would not be antithetical to realist photography. As much as the "absolutely unstaged snapshot" conjured up images of the candid and the hipshot, it is clear from Domon's schematic drawings and from his own writing that the human being behind the camera and his own sense of how to best represent the "societal

[30] Domon, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture," in *Setting Sun*, 24-25.

[31] Born Fujima Junjirō (藤間 順次郎), Matsumoto Kōshirō VIII also took the name Matsumoto Hakuō I after his retirement. He was designated a Living National Treasure in 1975.

reality" in front of the lens was paramount. In the same *Camera* magazine issue where his "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture" essay was published, he commented in a different article—an exchange between himself and various other postwar photographers—that: "It's not a problem of what you shoot, but again a problem of what way you shoot it."[32] Furthermore, the camera itself was not to be exalted as some mystical, magic vessel that contained inherently within it the ability to record objective reality with perfection:

> If it's a photograph, you use a camera, and if it's a painting, you use a brush. Both the brush and the camera are general tools, and you have to think about the method of using those tools, but for me, there isn't really a difference between a camera and a brush. The only real difference is that if you're a photographer, you use a camera, and if you're a painter, you use a brush, and if you're a sculptor, you use a chisel. It's only a difference in the expression of the tool, in the method used, but the essential differences (like those that are implied [by Kimura Ihee]), don't really emerge.[33]

The bottom line for Domon was that the photographer's presence and accumulated knowledge was integral for photographic practice, but that the photographer should still be invisible in relationship to the subject of the photograph. Reality, for Domon, was based in the human body's relationship to the world, but for him this was something approaching an objective fact, not contingent experience. In 1957, he claimed that, "a fact or reality is what I see with my eyes, hear with my ears, touch with my hands. And it has nothing to do with subjectivity, which is to say it is actually there, something that actually occurs. […] Reality is the thing at hand, concrete and objective."[34] For Domon, there was a clear link between reality and the subjective body of the photographer, especially in terms of what the photograph can record, but it was

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[32] Ina Nobuo, Kimura Ihee, Watanabe Yoshio, Tanaka Masao, Domon Ken, Kamekura Yūsaku, "The Various Problems of Modern-day Photography" [*Kindai shashin no shomondai*], *Camera* 41, No. 10 (October 1953): 65-73, 68.

[33] Ina Nobuo, et al., "The Various Problems of Modern-day Photography," 67.

[34] Putzar, Edward. "The Reality of Domon Ken," *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1994): 314.

always presented with the valence of objective fact, rather than personal, mutable, subjective experience.

In the final photograph of Kawada's series, Domon sits on a pillow upon a tatami mat floor, knees folded in the casual cross-legged *agura* style (Figure 6). We see his entire body, still clad all in black, with his arms crossed in front of his chest and his lips pursed as he stares down at the floor in front of him. At the bottom edge of the image, staring back up at Domon, are two rows of printed photographs, each looking to be about the width of a full-spread magazine page. We know from the caption, "Monthly Judging, at the *Photoart* Japanese room," (*Getsurei shinsa, fotoa-to nihonma nite*) that Kawada has photographed Domon evaluating images to be published in the very magazine in which this particular photograph itself appears. Domon, alongside fellow photographer Kimura Ihee (1901–1974), had been the judge for monthly selections for *Camera* magazine until its folding in 1956; afterwards, he moved to *Photoart* magazine to perform the same task. He was well-known by the late 1950s for being "irascible" and scolding of his selections, even as he used them to demonstrate for the various magazines' readers what the best of realist photography looked like, and what it could offer.[35]

Kawada then offers here a kind of meta-narrative of realism: the father of postwar realism shot in the realist style, in the act of selecting further realist photographs to be published in a magazine that generally aligned with and supported those ideas and images associated with realism in photography. For readers of this particular *Photoart* issue, perhaps the photograph offered a thrill at seeing the revered Domon in the process of selection, uncovering some of the mysterious aura of the process—as in, proof of what realist photography can show you, the hopeful, young amateur photographer, of how your works are scrutinized by Domon Ken. But on another level, Kawada is revealing (consciously or otherwise), another important tenet of the

[35] Thomas, "Power Made Visible," 372.

realist philosophy: its uneasy relationship to Japanese nationalism in the first postwar decades.

Julia Thomas argues that Domon's realism, in comparison to photography critics like Watanabe Kosho (1914–1993) and Tanaka Masao (1912–1987), contained within it a particular breed of sentimentalism that was deeply, if implicitly, tied to a sense of Japanese nationality. Domon's insistence on finding an emotional reality in photography—and in particular how it related to debates over the trend of *kojiki shashin* (lit: "beggar photography") which encompassed images of street children, the homeless, veterans, the destitute and the poor—reveals a "paternalistic" and almost domineering sense of what kinds of emotional realities are permitted in each realist photograph.[36] The empty chair, photographed "correctly," must express the emotion of recent loss, or distant footsteps. The veteran beggar in the snowy streets must be shot in such as way so as to express sympathy, concern, sadness—never the possibility for, as Thomas says, anger at the government or resentment for his position in life.[37] In connecting this analysis to Domon's own texts on realism, Thomas then takes the following position:

> For Domon, the camera is not a tool to discover reality, a reality that might be counterintuitive, confusing, or even alienating for the photographer. Instead, reality emerges through "thorough manipulation of the visible world" and thorough interpretive imposition. The dialectic between photographer and poverty crucial to Tanaka and the excavation of sociological truth dear to Watanabe are not part of Domon's domineering sentimental practice. Whereas both Tanaka and Watanabe speak in universal terms, Domon, to achieve the emotional reality that he values, focuses on the Japanese race or *Nihon minzoku* and advises Japanese photographers exclusively. Indeed, his December 1953 essay ["Realism is not naturalism" *Rearizumu wa shizenshugi de wa nai*, in the December issue of *Camera* magazine] announces, rather cryptically, that if Japanese photographers battle to solve the problems facing them, they will be able to raise the flag of

[36] Thomas, "Power Made Visible," 387.

[37] *Ibid.*

Japanese realism (*Nihon no rearizumu*) on the world stage.[38]

In the same essay, Domon claims that the problem of realism—what it looks like, how it is different from naturalism, from overly simple, everyday amateur snapshots (*chorosuna*, Domon's own portmanteau of *choroi sunappu*)—"is a problem for Japanese photographers, from today until the bitter end. In other words, the problem of what realism is, is gripped in our own hands."[39] Realist photography, in the particular way that it must look and be practiced according to Domon, is therefore essentially a photography linked to the Japanese postwar experience, and to a Japanese sense of nationality within the larger global community.

Returning to Kawada's photograph of Domon's monthly judging at the *Photoart* building, subtle cues of this tenuous link between realism and "raising the flag on the world stage" begin to emerge: The tatami mat, the *shōji* screens and *fusuma* sliding panels behind Domon's back, framing him in geometric pattern; Domon's own stance, sitting *agura* upon a pillow with his stern and downward-turned expression; even the caption seeks to identify Domon as inhabiting a space specifically designated as Japanese—the *nihonma* of the *Photoart* offices. Whether this intentionality came from Kawada, from Domon's choice of regular judging space, or whether there was intentionality at all, the photograph itself still frames the "future" of realist photography (in the coming months' premiere selections from Domon Ken himself) as one that echoes Domon's own words about crafting a form and ideology of photography that belonged specifically to postwar Japan, and would elevate Japan into a global conversation about

[38] Thomas, "Power Made Visible," 389. A translation of the last few lines of Domon's article offers this specificity: "In order to overcome careless snapshot [*chorosuna*] realism, we must deal with the problem of theme again. We must find an archetype. If we fight the fight to resolve these two problems, the thematic archetype, in a practical way, then Japanese realism will raise its flag on the world stage for the first time. [...] Realism has to move forward." See: Domon Ken, "*Rearizumu wa shizenshugi de wa nai,*" in *Domon Ken shashin sahō*. Tokyo: David, 2007, 45.

[39] Domon Ken, "*Rearizumu wa shizenshugi de wa nai,*" in *Domon Ken shashin sahō*. Tokyo: David, 2007, 45.

photography, its social value, and its ideal form.

By 1958, however, when Domon opened himself up to a photographic essay shot by Kawada Kikuji (a photographer a generation younger than himself), he was well aware that his breed of realism was losing traction and losing steam. Already by 1954 he had declared the foundational wave of realist photography as one gasping for breath. A lecture he delivered that year at the Tokyo-Kyōbashi Bridgestone Fine Arts Faculty as part of their weekly "Saturday Course" series was subsequently edited and published in the June 1955 issue of *Camera*. In it, Domon says in response to a question about the future of realism: "This is only my opinion, but it seems as though right now in 1954, the first spring phase of realism is over. Today, in order to advance towards the second phase of realism, I think it is very much the time of the young people. However, this isn't necessarily an impasse, like everyone says. As an artist myself, I feel this more acutely than anyone."[40] Despite this optimistic statement, Domon does little in the lecture to clarify what he expects that the younger generation should do with the banner of realism, rather than parrot his claims from 1953 that realism is not realism without a kind of emotional intentionality, and that whatever this anticipated "second phase" of realism would be, it would be somehow born of his increasing frustration that "there is nothing to shoot anymore. [...] There must be something more profound, more beautiful, more indomitable, in terms of photographic expression or motif."[41] His statement that "there is nothing to shoot anymore" seems to bemoan the way in which most of his last few years leading up to the 1954 lecture were spent deflecting criticism that realist photography was tired and repetitive, nothing more than endless shots of dirty Tokyo street urchins and the manufactured misery of homeless veterans.

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[40] Domon Ken, "*Riarizumu shashin no susumubeki michi,*" ("The Way to Continue Realist Photography") *Camera* 25, No. 6 (June 1955): 136 - 140, 137.

[41] Domon Ken, "*Riarizumu shashin no susumubeki michi,*" 137.

Indeed, most of Domon's 1953 series of articles published in *Camera* magazine were done so as part of a defensive strategy against the critical attacks from Watanabe, Tanaka, and the like. Domon knew that the dominance of realism was in crisis when he wrote that "realism is not naturalism" in December of 1953, trying to ward off its already apparent dilution as a fad, rather than a socially-conscious art form. And of course he must have known too on some level that realism might not survive the next generation of photographers upon whom he was pinning his hopes—that whatever he envisioned for the next "second phase" of realism might not have his indelible, if sometimes changeable, stamp upon it.

1.2 The Legacy of Prewar Photography

The long road to the waning dominance of Domon's realist photography begins, in some ways, with an older legacy. World War II was not an ontological break in the narrative of Japanese photography—Domon and other important postwar photographers worked before, during, and after the war—but it did require a refashioning of the concepts and practices that had taken root during the years leading up to the war, concepts and practices that were then during the war often put into the service of Imperial nationalism and state-sponsored propaganda. In order to best understand the stakes of realist photography's rise and eventual eclipse by those photographers like Kawada Kikuji who would find space for a very different form of photographic expression in the late 1950s, it is important to first look back to photography's avant-garde origins, the insistence on the power of its medium-specificity, and the overwhelming belief in (and reliance on) its objective opicality.

Kaneko Ryūichi notes that the 1920s and 1930s in Japan were marked by a significant shift in the relationship between photographic production and mass society. While the conception and reality of photography as a mass product, available for production, distribution, and consumption throughout classes and borders had been growing steadily since the nineteenth century, Kaneko argues that it was the technological advances of both the medium itself and of printing that made social communication through photography possible both as a consumable and on a far more diverse level.[42] Photographers known for their involvement in the avant-garde techniques of *shinkō shashin* ("New Photography")—a movement that understood photography's medium-specificity and mechanical "eye" as integral to an expression of the modern vision of the world—also began in the 1930s to understand that the indexical trace of the photograph

[42] Kaneko Ryūichi, "Realism and Propaganda: The Photographer's Eye Trained on Society," in *The History of Japanese Photography*, Anne Wilkes Tucker, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 186.

could be turned on the world as part of a project of social consciousness—the project of "reportage," "photojournalism," or *hōdō shashin*.[43]

Both *shinkō shashin* and *hōdō shashin*, argues the critic Yoshimura Shinya, have their roots in the European photographic avant-garde, particularly from the Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity). In his analysis, Yoshimura says that the rejection of German Expressionism eventually manifested within prewar Japanese photography communities in a very particular way: "the cool, calm methodology of naturalism with the feverish emotion of romanticism," where the resultant photographs were therefore "constantly appearing to be filled to the brim with contradiction."[44] According to Yoshimura, the medium-specificity of photography (*shinkō shashin*) combined with the urge to focus on the objective documentation of everyday life as socially valuable (*hōdō shashin*) eventually manifested its power in 1930s Japan through the work of Natori Yōnosuke (1910–1962) and Ina Nobuo (1898–1978), and most particularly through their work that married photography's understood truth-claims with mass-produced and messaged-oriented publications. Kaneko Ryūichi concurs with Yoshimura: "The combination of the new visual sensibility [referencing *shinkō shashin*] and the appreciation of the social character of photography [*hōdō shashin*] resulted in a major development in graphic journalism during the 1930s: photojournalism, the pursuit of photography both as a modern visual expression and, at the same time, as a visually constructed message directed to society at large.[45]

In the 1930s, Natori and Ina, along with Kimura Ihee, Horino Masao and many others

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[43] Kaneko, "Realism and Propaganda," 188.

[44] Yoshimura Shinya, *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū* (*Research on Masterpieces of Modern Photography*) Tokyo, Shashin hyōronsha, 1970, 150.

[45] Ina Nobuo. "Shashin ni kaere!" in *Ina Nobuo shashin ronshū: Shashin ni kaere*, Ōshima Hiroshi, ed. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005, 35. Translation after Kaneko, "Realism and Propaganda," 188.

began to work in a vein that combined an exaltation of the mechanical media with the ability to communicate a specific message *about* society *to* society. Ina's seminal *Shashin ni kaere!* "Return to Photography!" (1932) posits the following rationale:

> When [the photographer] isolates himself from society, he discards the splendid license of a "chronicler of the age," begins to grope again in the tendency of meaningless aestheticism, and risks following the same path to decline as in other arts. For us to deliver the highest-quality expression to the "present age" through the art of photography, the "person with the camera" must be, first and foremost, a social being in the highest sense.'[46]

Natori, who lived and worked in Germany in the 1930s, returned home in February of the same year of Ina's *Shashin ni kaere!*; his arrival was, according to Iizawa Kōtarō, akin to "the throwing of a rock into a muddy pond, inducing ripples."[47] It was, continues Iizawa, "the first opportunity for the world of Japanese photography to come in close contact with the 'international standard' of photojournalism."[48] In particular, Natori was integral to the flourishing production of graphic supplements and photojournals through his establishment of Nippon Kōbō, a collaborative studio dedicated to the production of reportage and photojournalism. Natori, through essays and through the work produced via Nippon Kōbō argued that photography was less a language of "art" than an educational language, a means of direct communication about the world, delivered visually.[49] "It's a foregone conclusion," he wrote, "that the priority of photography should be the ease with which it's understood. Therefore, the

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[46] Kaneko, "Realism and Propaganda," 189.

[47] Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Sengo shashin e no jozō,*" ("The Run Towards Postwar Photography") in *Sengo shashinshi nōto: shashin ha nani wo hyōenshitkitaka* (*Notes on Postwar Photography: What has Photography been Expressing?*) Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993, 2.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Weisenfeld, Gennifer, "Touring Japan-as-Museum: NIPPON and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues" in *positions: east asia cultures critique,* 8, 3 (winter 2000): 747-793, 751.

intention of the cameraman should only be to shoot photography that is without manipulation, selecting images whose theme is to report facts, or to convey a story based on a theme. These are the only means by which a photographer's consciousness should be visible on the surface."[50] Mass photo publications such as *Kōga*, *Shashin shūhō*, *Asahi Graph*, *NIPPON* (the flagship publication of Natori's Nippon Kōbō), and eventually *Front* (Figure 7), alongside stand-alone photobooks such as Horino's *The Greater Character of Tokyo* (1931) (Figure 8) presented this kind of *hōdō shashin* as indebted to narrative: rather than a single, solitary photograph, the messages of the publications were almost always presented as multiples, as series, as photomontage, as photo-collage, or as typophoto.[51] And, more often than not, these publications were collaborations between multiple photographers, art directors, graphic designers, and—most importantly for this discussion—the interests of a specific company or government branch.

Despite the fact that these photographers lauded the concept of "photojournalism" as a form of documentary, indebted to the mechanical precision and indexical nature of the medium as much as it was to the photographer as a "social being," by the mid-1930s, many of them were presenting work in publications that served a specific message of propaganda in the midst of Japan's imperialist expansion into Manchuria and other regions of Asia, and then eventually in the midst of the global theater of World War II. The same aesthetic methods associated only a few years before with the modernist quality of *shinkō shashin* and the early years of *hōdō shashin* were now widely mobilized in the service of specific narratives about Japanese culture

[50] O'Leary, Thomas Francis. *Tokyo Visions: Contemporary Japanese Photography and the Search for a Subjective Documentary*. PhD Diss., Los Angeles, California: University of Southern California, 63.

[51] Weisenfeld, "Touring Japan-as-Museum," 752.

and military expansion, largely intended for a foreign audience.[52] Because the propaganda often wished to express contradictory messages about Japan—at once a deeply "traditional" country *and* fully industrialized and modern—the modernist techniques of photomontage, abstraction, and oblique angles implicitly communicated the modern, no matter the subject matter of the pages of the publications.[53]

The insistence made by Ina Nobuo and others that the mechanical, "objective," quality of the camera be put in the service of social communication presented a potential paradox. To assert the photographer as "a social being" (Ina uses the phrase *shakaiteki ningen*)[54] already necessarily posited him or her as a social actor, and therefore threw into question whether there was the possibility of an objective stance in this statement. More importantly, we can perhaps put pressure on the publications, photo-essays, and photomontages themselves. As noted above, the communication touted by proponents of *hōdō shashin* was a communication based already on a form of narrative, constructed through individual photographs and the innovative techniques of collage, montage, and juxtapositionings. They often relied on accompanying text and caption as much as they did on visual narrative.[55] The photograph could have still been understood as the indexical trace, and indeed, the "common perception that what is expressed through the eye of the camera [is] actually [what] exists," was integral to Ina's conception of *hōdō shashin*.[56] But

[52] Weisenfeld, Gennifer. "Publicity and Propaganda in 1930s Japan: Modernism as method," *Design Issues*, 25, 4 (2009): 13-28, 15.

[53] *Ibid*. Weisenfeld also notes that this was a common practice in advertising as well—especially for products that were explicitly linked with elements of the modern lifestyle.

[54] Ina, "*Shashin ni kaere!*" 35.

[55] Weisenfeld, "Touring Japan-as-Museum," 763-764.

[56] Weisenfeld, "Touring Japan-As-Museum," 753.

this understanding was already belied by *hōdō shashin*'s insistence on the formation of photographs as *narrative* communication. The collaborative efforts, the techniques of photomontage that ruptured and re-wove visual coherency, the ability to manipulate and, indeed, the *persistence* of manipulation, demand that we not take these photographers at their word. While the collaborative may destabilize claims of the "social being" photographer as always already subjective, the reliance on narrative and the techniques of photomontage betrays the idea of the photographic image as the singular, frozen, indexical instant. Narrative (whether through multiple photographs in series, or through photomontage techniques) implicitly conveys a suturing together; while the *hōdō shashin* photographers may have written that that photography had the ability to convey the objective moment, their actual production belies a more complicated stance on visual communication, one that by the end of the Second World War had much more in common with the goals of advertising and propaganda.

In 1935, at the age of 26, Domon Ken joined Nippon Kōbō, working primarily on photographing for the intended international audience of the magazine *NIPPON*. Yoshimura notes that this early experience was a foundational training in Natori's particular brand of *hōdō shashin*, but that ultimately Domon and Natori decided to "walk very different paths."[57] In 1939, just as Nippon Kōbō moved into explicit propagandistic production (it changed its name to Kokusai Hōdō Kōgei and moved its primary production business to colonial Shanghai),[58] Domon departed the studio to work for the Japan Cultural Society (*Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai*, which should be noted was an umbrella supporter of Nippon Kōbō), photographing religious and

[57] Yoshimura, *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū*, 150.

[58] Wilkes-Tucker, Anne, Naoyuki Kinoshita, Ryuichi Kaneko, and Museum of Fine Arts Houston. *The History of Japanese Photography*. Yale University Press, 2003, 375.

cultural landmarks like Nara's Murōji Temple.[59]

As the war ended, and Japan shifted rapidly from defeated, nuclear-bombed nation to willing Cold War ally of the West, so too did the underlying ideology of *hōdō shashin* require a reconfiguration. As Yoshiaki Kai argues in his dissertation on the *sunappu* ("snapshot") genre of photography closely aligned with photojournalism, even amateur wartime photography was expected to be inherently patriotic. Kai quotes Watanabe Yoshio, a *sunappu* proponent, advising amateur photographers to "avoid taking pictures with a viewpoint or a way of taking them that gives the impression of a shortage of commodities or overflow of poor people, which is often misinterpreted by foreigners, or he or she should be careful not to make such pictures public. [...] It is best for an amateur to avoid taking a critical attitude as far as possible."[60] And while Kai also mentions that Domon's work for the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai was not as explicitly propagandistic as those photojournalists working overseas during the war, he still as a working photographer had to make the same whiplash adjustment from photography in the service of the wartime nation to photography in the service of something else, which in 1945 had yet to be determined.[61]

Although Domon's fellow photographer Kimura Ihee (who also practiced photography in the prewar, wartime, and postwar eras) would maintain throughout the immediate postwar years

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[59] Merewether, Charles, Rika Iezumi Hiro, Reiko Tomii, and the Getty Research Institute. *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970.* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007, 122.

[60] Kai, Yoshiaki. "*Sunappu*: A Genre of Japanese Photography, 1930–1980." PhD Diss., City University of New York, 2012, 53.

[61] Kai, "*Sunappu*: A Genre of Japanese Photography, 1930–1980," 111. Kai rightly notes that the photographing of Buddhist buildings and artworks that Domon performed for the Japan Cultural Society from 1939 onwards was implicitly imperialistic insofar as they were exaltations of "traditional" Japanese culture and history.

that the mechanical eye of the camera was still the most important component in photography's objectivity and realism, the celebration of the mechanistic objective was the very first thing that Domon would jettison on his way to developing his own brand of postwar realism. As early as 1951, Domon would claim in conversation with Kimura that "Realism is not mechanical truth, it is a social truth."[62] This, as the basis for a photographic practice that would become his brand of dominant realist photography—the absolutely unstaged snapshot with "social" value, not always inherently nationalistic but still emotionally paternalistic and sometimes manipulative—was enough for Domon to separate his own photography from the propaganda of the war. However, the fuzzy edges of its definition and even Domon's vocalized despair that by the mid-1950s it appeared to him that realism had been subsumed into a faddish, even kitschy, amateurism left his realism, and the deeper legacy of prewar photography, open to further interrogation by a younger generation of photographers poised on the horizon.

[62] Domon Ken and Kimura Ihee, "*Shashin ni okeru riarizumu to wa nani ka*?" ("What is Realism in Photography?") *Camera* 40, No. 12 (December 1951): 56-63, 59.

1.3 Youth of Japan: VIVO and the *Jūnin-no-me* Exhibitions

"I don't really believe in generational theory [*sedairon*]," says the photography critic Iizawa Kōtarō, in the opening of the second chapter of his book *Sengo shashinshi nōto: shashin wa nani wo hyōgenshitekita ka*. "This is because I think it is impossible to be able to lump together a wide variety of human activities only through their shared year of birth."[63] If, however, even a stalwart critic of generational conflation such as Iizawa were to make an exception, it would be for those young photographers who were poised on the horizon of realism's decline in the late 1950s. "It may be," Iizawa continues, that in the case of "those photographers born between the years of 1930 and 1935 [...] there is a unique example of exactly this kind of generational theory. [...] For those photographers that began the 'self-agency' VIVO in 1959—Narahara Ikkō, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Kawada Kikuji, Hosoe Eikoh—there has perhaps been no other generation that so consistently continued to emphasize a severance with the previous generation to the extent that they did."[64] For Iizawa, the five-year span of the birth years of these photographers who would come to form the independent photo agency known as VIVO is notable as an exception to his anti-theory of generations because of its relationship to the Second World War. Based on his years of discussions, friendships, and critical engagements with Kawada, Narahara, Tōmatsu, Hosoe, Tokiwa Toyoko and others associated over the years with VIVO, Iizawa in this chapter pinpoints a kind of shared experience—what he refers to as a "foundational experience" (*gentaiken*) of childhood—that bonds this particular generation together through a singular image, unique and almost dreamlike. The image, he says, is of a blue sky: empty of clouds, of planes, and of contrails, just an arcing expanse of pure blue. This blue

[63] Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Danzetsu to renzoku*," ("Interruption and Continuity") in *Sengo shashinshi nōto: shashin wa nani wo hyōgenshitekita ka* (*Notes on Postwar Photography: What has Photography been Expressing?*) Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993, 71.

[64] Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Danzetsu to renzoku*," 71-72.

sky, the *aozora*, is not purely peaceful—at least not to this generation of photographers—it is a chasm, a rift (*sakeme*). Iizawa argues that the VIVO generation of photographers all to some extent experienced this *aozora to iu sakeme* ("the rift called blue sky") during their formative young teenage years. The blue sky marks them as those who were old enough to remember the experience of the war in their own ways as young children, but also not old enough to have experienced it fighting on the front, or fully ingesting propaganda as adults at home.

The image of the blue sky as a moment of rift comes almost word-for-word from the photographer Narahara Ikkō, who describes his memory of the very day Japan surrendered (August 15, 1945) as both quotidian and earth-shaking:

> I looked up at the sky. The sky where the war had disappeared. In the blue sky, where there were neither planes nor clouds, a sky that had fallen strangely silent, and it showed a world that I had not ever seen before. One world has ceased to be, and from here on out another world has begun, I thought, as I walked along the white bus path. On that day, the world that had been built up by the adults was extinguished. [...] I was 13.[65]

The critic and VIVO collaborator Fukushima Tatsuo expresses nearly this exact sentiment when interviewing Narahara, Kawada, and Hosoe in 1986 for the *Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai Kaihō* (Japan Professional Photographers Society):

> FUKUSHIMA: [The previous] generation and our generation were fundamentally different generations after the war. Therefore, in our ways of thinking and feeling about photography, it was different. For example, when the war ended, I was 17 years-old. Narahara-san, you were—
>
> NARAHARA**:** I was in my second year of middle school, so 13 years-old.
>
> FUKUSHIMA: I remember that you wrote about the sky towards the end of the war, as you looked up, you saw B-29s, or something like that. That when you looked up, there were things flying about

[65] Narahara Ikkō, "*Mō hitotsu no boku ni itaru made*" ("Arriving at Another Self,") in *Shōwa shashin zen shigoto* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1983), as reproduced in Iizawa, "*Danzetsu to renzoku*," 71.

> up there, but you also wrote that after that [...] the sky changed, and you thought you had to start looking for your own way of feeling. For everyone, it was like this.[66]

For Tōmatsu Shōmei, this sense of discontinuity, of starting over, was so stark for himself and for other photographers of his age that he came to refer to the group as a whole as the "beliefless generation."[67] Tōmatsu, who spent his childhood in wartime Nagoya increasingly and almost morbidly fascinated with the nightly "opera of the air raids," where he would "lie in his bed on the trembling floor [...] adjusting his tall mirror to reflect the B-29s roaring in,"[68] described coming out of this adolescent experience suddenly into a world of supposed peace as one both jarring and nihilistic. The "beliefless generation" were those like himself, Narahara, Hosoe, and Kawada, made up of those youths "who emerged into a world where not only the cities but the old faiths had disintegrated, but who had seen too much to celebrate the future. They despised the patriotism of their elders and, [Tōmatsu] has said, believed in nothing."[69]

Kawada likewise points to this particular experience of crossing the boundary of wartime and postwar during his childhood, but he also makes the explicit connection between his own photographic approach to the dominance of realism and his own adolescent experience. "My start was definitely in reportage, or I guess you could call it documentary," he says to Fukushima:

> However, it was a little bit different from that of the previous generation, in that we did not go to war. In other words, the war

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[66] Fukushima Tatsuo, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1,"* ("Round-table: Talking About the World of Photography, The Eyes of Ten • The VIVO Period 1,") *Nihon shashinka kyōkai kaihō* 73, No. 9 (September 1986): 16-25, 16.

[67] Rubenfein, Leo, et al., eds, *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2004, 18.

[68] Rubenfein, *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation, 13.*

[69] Rubenfein, *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation, 18.*

> was an image to us, and therefore I think for us, the image that was given to us of the war strongly inflected things. That is, if one had gone to war, naturally wouldn't they be photographing war differently [than those who didn't go]? So it seems to me that basically we were just starting from very different places.[70]

Later on in the conversation, however, Fukushima presses him to be more explicit about how the war as an "image" made an impact on him as a young photographer. He asks Kawada:

> FUKUSHIMA: But you photographed the ruins of the military base in Chiba. Is that not the war? Or rather, isn't it a trace of the war? It becomes a kind of very imaginary world. Yours, I mean.
>
> KAWADA: I feel that I did keep watching the ruins. Almost like I thought I really wanted to go to war [*laughs*]. It seems maybe more favorable for a person to say, "I didn't want to go," but it seems like the images from my boyhood, those that really made me want to go, they really settled in me.[71]

Within the same conversation, Hosoe Eikoh picks up on an emergent theme, and pushes it further still, wondering if Kawada's experience with being attracted to wartime ruins and Tōmatsu's expressed sense of the generation as starting out from a "beliefless" state couldn't be reconciled into some concept of looking—as photographers and as people—at traces of the past in order to mine some kind of meaning for the present. "I think this is a generational thing," says Hosoe:

> I wonder if we can't call these [experiences] the 'indelible scenes of our childhoods' [*genfūkei*]. Also, since I was evacuated from Tokyo, I didn't experience the bombing raids directly, and when I returned to Tokyo from the countryside in September [of 1945] it was fortunate my house wasn't impacted by the bombing, so instead I walked around Tokyo regularly looking for damage, to Asakusa, Ueno, Ginza, around the grounds of the Imperial Palace,

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[70] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1*," 18.

[71] *Ibid.* Fukushima is referring to Kawada's series of photographs of an abandoned military fortress complex outside of Tokyo, which made up a significant section of his 1961 solo exhibition at the Fuji Photo Salon, entitled "*Chizu*" ("The Map.") These photographs would also make an appearance in the photobook *Chizu* (*The Map*), published in 1965, and both the 1961 exhibition and the photobook more broadly will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this dissertation.

> that kind of experience, you know? So, of course that means that I must belong to the *yakeato-ha* ["the school of the burned-out ruins"].[72]

By invoking the phrase *yakeato,* Hosoe is gesturing explicitly to a generation of literary authors who defined their childhood experiences (and therefore their artistic work) in a similar manner to the VIVO photographers. Perhaps most well-known among them is Nosaka Akiyuki, author of *Hotaru no haka* (*Grave of the Fireflies*) (1967) and *Amerika hijiki* (*American Hijiki*) (1967), who once wrote of the generational designation of *yakeato sedai* ("the generation of burnt-out ruins" or "generation of ashes") that: "I think I am probably a member of the 'burnt-out ruins and black-market generation.' Those who belong to this generation are the people born in 1929, 1930, and 1931. In other words, there are no fallen soldiers amongst this group of people and they did not actively participate in the war. [...] Together with the arrival of the occupation forces they were completely surprised to discover that yesterday's 'brute of man' [meaning the Allied forces] had changed into today's friend of the human race. They also suffered starvation-phobia, wore the leftover uniforms of soldiers, and knew lice and scabies."[73]

For this generation of Japanese artists—be they photographers, poets, or short-story writers—there is in at least their recollections a sense that they were indelibly defined in adolescence by the physical traces of war (ruins and absence), dislocation (enemy becoming friend), and a relatively silent trauma (hunger and disease, not death by atomic bomb). They could not connect fully with the experiences of the generation that had come before because they did not share the adult experience of fighting on the front or fully embracing the patriotic rhetoric of Japanese Imperialism. They were, as Iizawa argues, in some sense then left to their own

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[72] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1,*" 18.

[73] Rosenbaum, Roman, and Yasuko Claremont, eds. *Legacies of the Asia-Pacific War: The Yakeato Generation*. New York: Routledge, 2015, 77-78.

devices to seek out the foundations of their expression. While many members of the VIVO generation cut their teeth on the tenets of realism as defined earlier in this chapter, they also were "conscious of a rupture with the previous generation. When they were forced to look at themselves as foreign objects of that torn blue sky, they attempted to seek out their own foundations, by eventually violently resisting the previous era."[74]

How did VIVO resist the work of previous generations of photographers? And what, exactly, was VIVO? To the first question, Iizawa's assumption of "resistance" actually does very little in allowing a full analysis of this generation of photographers' relationship to the realism of Domon Ken and to the legacy of prewar photography described above. Rather than aggressive dismissal, the work of the VIVO photographers in the late 1950s could instead best be described as a slow yet determined wriggling away—digging escapist, experimental labyrinths through the tightly packed soil they were born into, seeking their own individual tunnels, yet often working cooperatively in the labor of it. To the second question, the form and goals of VIVO can be understood through its members' insistence that VIVO was never exactly a "movement."[75] It was, instead, something organically formed and organically evolved, more of an artistic community and system of intellectual and practical discussion than a group of fervently like-minded artists defined by ideology and manifesto.

Nearly all the photographers associated with VIVO had, in one way or another, come of age as artists in the shadow of Domon Ken, Kimura Ihee, and the legacies of photojournalism

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[74] Iizawa Kōtarō, "*Aozora to iu sakeme*" ("A Rift Called Blue Sky") in *Shashin no 1955-1965: jiritsu shita eizouhan* [*Photography 1955-1965: A Group of Independent Images*], Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1991, 147.

[75] Kawada Kikuji in "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 3,"* ("Round-table: Talking About the World of Photography, The Eyes of Ten • The VIVO Period 3,") *Nihon shashinka kyōkai kaihō* 75, No. 5 (May 1987: 43-51, 51.

and *hōdō shashin*. There was a practical element to this, in that Domon and Kimura's monthly adjudications in *Camera* and *Photoart* to a certain extent prescribed the kinds of photographs that could gain any visibility in popular publications. Kawada, Narahara, Tōmatsu, and Hosoe all had their photographs selected by either Kimura, Domon, or both in various monthly selections throughout the 1950s—they all, like the photographs of Domon taken by Kawada that opened this chapter, reflected the ways in which this younger generation were attempting to work within the language of realism or photographic objectivity.[76]

There was also, however, a genuine sense of indebtedness to Domon, and his approach to photography. For Kawada especially, Domon was a true mentor and a respected model for photographic production. "After I graduated university," Kawada has said, "during my amateur phase, Domon-san really was my entry into the world of photography."[77] For the crucial years of realism's height of influence, both Kawada and Tōmatsu in particular worked tirelessly in the vein of realist and photojournalistic photography, in style and subject matter. They photographed street urchins, beggars, American army bases in Japan, labor strikes and May Day protests, and everyday scenes of urban life, so much so that Iizawa argues that "they could be considered the honors students of the 'realism movement.'"[78]

By the end of the 1950s, however, Kawada, Tōmatsu, and the rest of the VIVO-associated photographers seemed to have exhausted the potential of what realism and photojournalism could offer them. Even though he felt that the "absolutely unstaged snapshot" was not nearly so rigorously prescriptive as others did, Kawada still described Domon's realism as eventually limiting of his

[76] O'Leary, *Tokyo Visions*, 48.

[77] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015. Tokyo, Japan.

[78] Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Kawada Kikuji—Chizu*," in *Shashinshū no tanoshimi*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1998, 90.

photographic practice,[79] and Tōmatsu proclaimed in 1960 that "journalistic thinking was strangling photography."[80] As members of the VIVO group began to feel disenchanted, or at least unfulfilled, with the claims of realist photography and with the merits of photojournalism as it had existed in the immediate postwar period, the older generation did attempt to push back against the apparent rejection. Even while Tōmatsu began his career under the influence of the major figures of photojournalism and realism, he came to most directly challenge the hegemony of this stance on photography during the so-called Natori-Tōmatsu debates of autumn 1960, in the pages of *Asahi Camera*.[81] Here, Tōmatsu responded to Natori's criticism that Tōmatsu had turned away from the tenets of photojournalism by arguing that he had never been a photojournalist in the first place.[82] Instead, Tōmatsu argued that the "authority" of the photograph actually rested on a full acknowledgement of the photographer's subjectivity and active, relational role to the subject.[83] This approach is made most visible in certain photographs from his 1960 series *Chewing Gum and Chocolate*—perhaps most notably in the untitled example where the American soldiers not only peer down at Tōmatsu from on high, thus making explicit our implicit knowledge of his awkward shooting stance on the ground, but also engage with him through the underside of a half-playful, half-threatening stomping foot (Figure 9). The increasing interjection of the presence of the photographer is insisted upon by eye contact, an increasingly blurry and hip-shot

[79] Iizawa Kōtarō. *Kawada Kikuji. Nihon no shashinka 33.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998, 7.

[80] Rubenfein, *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation,* 20.

[81] Natori Yōnosuke. "*Atarashii shashin no tanjō*" ("Birth of a New Photography"), *Asahi Camera* 45, No. 11 (November, 1960): 147-149; Tōmatsu Shōmei, "*Wakai shashin-ka no hatsugen #1: Boku wa Natori-shi ni hanron-suru* ("I Refute Mr Natori: Statement of Young Photographers #1"), *Asahi Camera* 45, No. 12 (December 1960): 156-7.

[82] O'Leary, *Tokyo Visions,* 66.

[83] Reynolds, Jonathan. *Allegories of Time and Space: Japanese Identity in Photography and Architecture.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015, 145.

style, and combinatorial strategies for his photobook layouts that speak to the conscious construction and expression of narratives of personal experience, and even, sometimes, explicit political stances.[84]

A major contributing factor to this eventual departure from realism was the formation of VIVO itself, a photo agency that only existed officially from 1959 until 1961. The community of photographers and associated critics—Fukushima, Kawada, Hosoe, Tōmatsu, Narahara, along with Tokiwa Toyoko, Satō Akira, Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Imai Hisae, Kawahara Shun, and Tanno Akira—that formed VIVO and participate in its associated group exhibitions began to come together organically in the mid-1950s. The nucleus of this creative network was Fukushima himself, who attended two exhibitions within the span of a week in the spring of 1956: Narahara Ikkō's "*Ningen no tochi*" ("Human Land") and Hosoe Eikoh's "*Tokyo no amerika musume* ("An American Girl in Tokyo").[85] Not long after this, Fukushima also visited Tokiwa's "*Hataraku josei ten*" ("Working Women") exhibition, which documented the women working in Yokohama's red-light district at the moment of its government abolition.[86] For Fukushima, these three exhibitions seemed to reveal that the younger generation of photographers were exploring the limits and subjects of photography in a way that felt exceptional and exciting, if not yet fully formed into something that Fukushima could put into words. "1956 ended up as an important boundary year," he mused, in conversation with Kawada, Hosoe, and Narahara.[87] Something was

[84] Reynolds, *Allegories of Time and Space*, 147.

[85] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1*," 18. Narahara's exhibition was held at Tokyo's Matsushima Gallery, and Hosoe's at the Konishiroku Gallery.

[86] *Ibid*. The photographs shown in this exhibition of Tokiwa's would figure heavily in her important photobook *Kiken na adabana* (*Dangerous Toxic Flowers*) (Mikasa Shobō, 1957).

[87] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1*," 17.

shifting in the atmosphere of Japan, Fukushima thought, and that shift was being reflected in the photography being produced by this particular "beliefless" generation:

> Between 1955 and 1956, postwar Japan had more or less finished climbing the stairs of capitalism, national and international politics, and economic preparation, and was beginning this so-called miraculous recovery, the *kōdoseichō* (postwar period of rapid growth). In 1955, the conditions were such: the total national income had grown to four times of that from before the war, the heavy chemical industry production scale was already twice that of the prewar, and the number of employed persons was six times that of the prewar [...][88]

As soon as Fukushima saw Narahara's exhibition, he felt he had to meet with the young photographer and speak to him.

> FUKUSHIMA: I went to Narahara-san's show, and then went to his house and talked until morning, and then afterwards we went together to go out to eat on your meal ticket [...] [To Hosoe] I already knew you by that time, right?
>
> HOSOE: Yeah, you knew me from before. Because it was in 1954, when Fukushima-san took me with him to see "Democrat." [Referring to the artist Ei-Q's "Democrat Group," *Democrat Bijutsuka Kyōkai*, of which Hosoe was a member as well.] That's why I know when it was. But at that time, I think it was a common circumstance that we would meet artists directly through exhibitions, and from that instant onwards have a very deep conversation. There was another time, when we were drinking at a place like Harmonika Alley in Shinjuku, and by chance I happened to sit next to a stranger whom I did not know at all, and had a conversation with him about photography. I feel like that time was one in which we were all hungry for exactly that kind of meeting with each other.[89]

This hunger for exchange and collaboration eventually led to Fukushima introducing Hosoe and Narahara to Kawada, Tōmatsu, and the others, with the suggestion that they put

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[88] Fukushima Tatsuo. *Fukushima Tatsuo shashin hyōronshū: Vol. 2, "10nin no me," VIVO jidai [Collected Criticism from Fukushima Tatsuo: Vol 2, "The Eyes of Ten" and the era of VIVO]* Tokyo: Madosha, 2011, 22.

[89] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1*," 17.

together a group exhibition that would showcase the particular shifts in photographic practice and style that Fukushima sensed as emergent and significant. For Fukushima, these photographers were branching out in subject matter (like Narahara's work for *Human Land*, shot at the abandoned islands of Gunkanjima and Sakurajima, exploring the experience and visual effects of isolation and alienation), attempting techniques that deliberately denied photography's claims of objective truth (Kawada's experimental use of solarization and his tendency toward surrealist abstraction, Hosoe's fictionalized love story in *An American Girl in Tokyo*), and most especially because it appeared that these photographers were all beginning to push back against the strictures of realism that had precluded the visible, or knowable presence of the photographer.

The work done in and around the VIVO agency and the planning of the resultant three exhibitions known as the *Jūnin no me* ("The Eyes of Ten," usually written in Japanese as 10 人の眼) series largely remained as loose and organic as Fukushima's original introductions. The VIVO offices themselves, situated on the Eastern edge of the Ginza neighborhood in Tokyo, were styled as a collaborative space where multiple individual and group projects could be pursued simultaneously. And while group endeavors like the *Jūnin no me* exhibitions and the occasional commercial project did emerge,[90] VIVO members have commented that the most significant result of this kind of collaborative space was inspiration and community. "We were inspired by each other," said Hosoe:

> After all, each of us were in the same room, as different photographers, printing different photographs. If I'm doing my contact sheets on one side, Kawada-san is doing a huge development right next to me. You could watch it all glancingly, thinking to yourself, "Wow, he's doing amazing. That Kawada

[90] Fukushima Tatsuo, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 2*," *Photoart* 74, No 2 (February 1987): 14-22, 22.

> Kikuji, he's so great, I can't fall behind." It couldn't be helped, all of us crammed so physically into one place together.[91]

The selection of photographers and works for the first *Jūnin no me* exhibition of 1957 was likewise collaborative, not overly deterministic, and generally respectful of each photographer's individual practice and interests. Kawada, recalling the selection process in the year leading up to the first exhibition said that "it had nothing to do with an ideal or an ideology:"

> KAWADA: It was sort of effortless flexibility. And if anyone thinks that's bad, I think there was still a kind of clarity to the choices we made, we were leading with our senses [*kyūkaku senkō*, lit: "leading via olfaction"].
>
> NARAHARA: I think it was definitely sensuous/intuitive. So when you look back at it now, it might be kind of mysterious as to why there were so many various kinds of artists there, because of course, that was the origin. Rather, the origin of it had that quality, it arose from a kind of intuitiveness.[92]

Hosoe agreed, saying: "The exhibitions and the formation of VIVO were indeed related. It was like the process of making something together was gradually born out of a common destiny."[93]

The first of the *Jūnin no me* exhibitions opened on May 24 of 1957 at the Konishiroku Gallery. The invitation (Figure 10), written by Fukushima, and announcing the bringing together of new work by ten different photographers, pronounced that "the world of photography is currently experiencing drastic changes. Starting from now, photography will be something that everyone will have to think carefully about. Those who have gathered together to open this

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[91] Fukushima Tatsuo, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 3*," *Photoart* 75, No 5 (May 1987): 43-51, 44.

[92] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 2*," 14.

[93] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 2*," 15.

exhibition have admitted this to each other. This invitation explains our intention."[94] A second *Jūnin no me* exhibition would follow in July of 1958 (notably featuring color photographs), and the third and final exhibition took place in July of 1959, all at the same location of the Konishiroku Gallery in Tokyo.[95]

These exhibitions offered visibility for a different notion of photography, no longer limited to the pages of photojournals and magazines that still largely clung to the ingrained popularity of realism. And while the group photo exhibition was nothing new in early postwar Japan (in fact, the idea grew directly out of the *Shūdan foto* (Group Photo) examples of the early 1950s),[96] the general reaction to the less cohesive and increasingly individual visual language of the photography represented in the *Jūnin no me* exhibitions was to attempt to categorize the ambitions of these young photographers.

Domon Ken, upon seeing Narahara's *Ningen no Tochi* exhibition in 1956, was particularly eviscerating when he wrote, "Maybe it's the weakness of the way the youth in their twenties think about things today, or the lifestyle of the youth [...] I don't sense any social grounding [in their work] as members of humanity. [...] I can't stand abstraction removed from

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[94] Kaneko Ryūichi, "From 'The Eyes of Ten' to 'VIVO,' The First Stage of Contemporary Photography," in *Shashin no 1955-1965: jiritsu shita eizouhan*. Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1991, 142. Translation as reproduced in O'Leary, *Tokyo Visions*, 23.

[95] Following the third and final exhibition, the VIVO photo agency would form in earnest, and last until 1961, when they disbanded by mutual agreement.

[96] Fukushima, "*Zadankai: shashinkai wo kataru, jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai, sono 1*," 16. *Shūdan foto* (Group Photo) was founded by Miki Jun in 1950, and they held several exhibitions until 1957, while Kimura Ihee and Domon Ken often served as advisors for the selections included in these shows. However, Fukushima remarks that by 1957, it seemed to him as those the age of *Shūdan foto* "was reaching its demise, a time when the meaning of it was starting to be diluted."

life."[97] Domon's assumption that the VIVO photographer's move away from the recognizable and explicit language and subject matter of realism equated to a turn away from society, from a "grounding in life," was also reinterpreted to mean that these photographers were moving inward, that they were ego-driven in their work, that their search for an individualized language of photography meant that they were also seeking to supplant photography's status as an objective, documentary medium.

Domon wasn't completely wrong. But he was also absolutist, seeking a kind of categorized dichotomy that most of the VIVO members did not explicitly feel themselves. By the time the last *Jūnin no me* exhibition had passed, and the VIVO photo agency was in full operation, and most of the critical language used to describe their work and motivations circled around opposition to the concept of "objectivity," not "reality." In particular, Shigemori Kōen's two-part essay published in May and June of 1960 in *Photoart Magazine* sought to give definition to this "new visual language:"

> In documenting the contemporary scene, these photographers have a pronounced tendency to deviate to some extent from objective reporting, and to assert their individuality by means of visual expression. They intend to impose their interpretations of reality on the viewer, whether or not these interpretations occasion discomfort or resistance. In other words, their work puts forth idiosyncratic versions of reality shaped by their own bold unilateral judgments, reversing the self-negating tendencies of photographers who record reality from a so-called objective standpoint and, in a manner of speaking, serving to exercise the artists' prerogative [as artists]. In a certain sense, their vision seems to rest on a philosophy of putting feeling and experience first…[98]

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[97] National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo, Rei Masuda, Mika Kobayashi, and Kenjin Miwa. *Narahara Ikkō: DOMAINS.* Tokyo: National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 2014, 12.

[98] Shigemori Kōen, "*Shikaku gego no atarashii mondai: Eizō*" ("The New Problem of Visual Language: The Visual Image") *Photoart* 12, No. 6 (May 1960): 162-165. Translation as reproduced in Doryun Chong. *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents.* New York, N.Y.; Durham, N.C.: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by Duke Univ Press, 2012, 147. Part 2 of

When the first comprehensive histories of Japanese photography were written in the last decades of the twentieth century (primarily by Iizawa Kōtarō and Kaneko Ryūichi), this particular critical vocabulary was canonized as a turn towards the "subjectivity" of the photographer, or "subjectivity" in general (*shukanshugi*). Iizawa argues that the concept and rhetoric of subjective photography was "first introduced in Japan by *Camera* magazine, which ran an article entitled 'The Subjective Photography of Modern European Photographers' with commentary by critic Kamekura Yūsaku, in its May 1954 issue." Iizawa quotes an excerpt from the article which argues that via subjective photography, "the idiosyncratic and freely experimental techniques of the ego, both new humanity and new form might be discovered."[99] More importantly, says Iizawa, the concept of subjective photography was ingested and regurgitated in photography and critical circles as a firmly oppositional concept, "an alternative photography movement," most especially against realism.[100]

However, as mentioned above, the members of VIVO never truly thought of themselves as a movement, nor did they ever seek to categorize their work as coming from a shared anti-realist perspective. While they did share an interest in working collaboratively and in a shared space, they maintained a sense of individualism within that space, all working toward their own goals and projects as photographers. And while they shared a generalized interest in pursuing photographic projects that *may* have emphasized or allowed for increased interiority,

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Shigemori's essay was published in *Photoart* in June 1960 (Vol. 12, No. 7: 142-145). For a far more extensive analysis of the transitions from "objectivity" to "subjectivity" in twentieth-century Japanese Photography, see Thomas O'Leary's 2009 dissertation, *Tokyo Visions.*

[99] Iizawa Kōtarō, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography," in Wilkes-Tucker, Anne, Naoyuki Kinoshita, Ryuichi Kaneko, and Museum of Fine Arts Houston. *The History of Japanese Photography.* Yale University Press, 2003, 211.

[100] Iizawa Kōtarō, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography," 213.

experimental techniques, or refutations of photography's truth-claims, this was not a unified, militarized front under the categorical banner of subjectivity.

When Kawada Kikuji was asked in 2015 whether he recalled taking part in the so-called subjectivity-objectivity debates of the late 1950s and early 1960s with other members of VIVO, he laughed, and said: "No. Never. Not at all. [*Mattaku nai. Zenzen nai*]. [...] Of course, we generally understood it, but that kind of stuff belonged to other people [like Fukushima]."[101] At least as Kawada and several other of its members saw things, VIVO did not represent a search for subjectivity within photography performed as a cohesive movement, but instead was something that grew organically, something that would end up being a surprisingly radical quest for all its lack of definition, still individual and subjective in the sense that each felt free to explore their own styles and subjects, but predicated on a distinct *lack* of concrete identity. VIVO was always about asking questions, rather than working from a presupposed answer.

[101] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015. Tokyo, Japan.

1.4 Basetowns and Beggars to Nuclear Landscapes: Kawada Kikuji Photographing Japan in the 1950s

For the October 1953 issue of *Camera* magazine, Domon Ken selected a series of photographs from Kawada Kikuji, which were compiled and published under the title of "*Kichi Tachikawa no kodomotachi*" "The Children of Tachikawa Base" (Figures 11-15).[102] These five photographs demonstrate a choice of subject matter and aesthetic approach in line with that of the Domon-favored "absolutely unstaged snapshot," an adherence to the *reportage* style, and a subject matter that would have firmly grounded the young Kawada as a photographer who was invested in the kind of societal realism that Domon preferred. The photographs, which were selected by Domon from an original submission of fourteen, are titled as follows: "*Eigo dake no puraka-do* ("English Placards"); *Otsukai no haha to kodomo* ("Mother and Child on an Errand"); *Dagashiya no mae* ("Outside the Candy Store"); *Onna-tachi no iru michi* ("Women on the Street"); and *Aru konketsuji* ("Mixed-race child"). They are in many ways a quintessential representation of "basetown photography:" realist-style photographs taken in and around American army bases on Japanese soil, meant to document the daily lives of Japanese citizens in what was a starkly new arrangement of values within Allied-Occupied Japan. As these basetown photographs gained popularity within magazines and photojournals like *Camera*, it was consistently argued (without surprise) that the best method of shooting this particular subject was via the *reportage*, realist, or *hōdō shashin* method. In a 1954 roundtable discussion between Kawada, Kitamura Yoshi (from the *Tokyo Shinbun* photography department), Saeki Yoshikatsu (from the Association of Young News Photographers), and the photographer Tanaka Masao published in *Nihon Camera* in 1954, Tanaka argues that objective, realist photography is even more important in situations where one is shooting subjects like basetowns. "That's the position

[102] This issue, it should be noted, was the same issue in which Domon's famous essay "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture" was first published.

of humanism," he argues. "At least, it is the most orthodox way to think as an photojournalist, who of course looks at this from a realistic standpoint. It's completely necessary."[103]

These basetowns were especially fraught spaces both during and immediately after the Allied occupation of Japan. They were militarized, in a country that had just relinquished its own military and the option of aggressive military force. They were centralized nodes of the postwar culture clash, where the hierarchies and power structures between the mostly-American soldiers (once hated and reviled, and now supposed friendlies) and the Japanese population often played out in brothels and through the explosion of prostitution in and around these spaces.[104]

Tachikawa, and its neighboring town of Sunagawa, would also in the 1950s become centers of violence and protest. Kawada notes that one of the reasons he was interested in shooting Tachikawa base and its inhabitants was because of a sense of growing unrest. June 1953 would see the "Tachikawa air disaster," where a US Air Force plane crashed in a nearby field just after take-off. All 129 people on board the plane were killed, and one Japanese farmer on the ground was injured.[105] Kawada says he was interested in the way that different groups of citizens seemed to come together around a common cause. "At the base, it was the farmers who initially raised the problems, but the workers cooperated with them and organized a unified front. That

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[103] Kawada Kikuji, Kitamura Yoshi, Saeki Yoshikatsu, Tanaka Masao, and Takaishi Yasuji. "*Kichi no shashin wo megutte"* ("Concerning Photography of Army Bases"), *Nihon Camera* No. 12 (December 1954): 132-135, 132.

[104] Wright, Dustin. "The Sunagawa Struggle: A Century of Anti-Base Protest in a Tokyo Suburb." PhD Diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2015, 61. Wright notes that "the military bases of the occupation and postwar years were decidedly different militarized spaces than those of the prewar years. [...] The inequality of bases was so apparent in communities like Tachikawa and Sunagawa that [...] even the children of Sunagawa came to recognize their place as little more than an American colony."

[105] Wright, "The Sunagawa Struggle: A Century of Anti-Base Protest in a Tokyo Suburb," 88. Two years later, Japanese citizens' security concerns about these kinds of crashes resulted in the "Sunagawa Struggle," when plans to expand the Tachikawa airfield runway even deeper into the Sunagawa town area were met with a series of substantial protests in the streets of Sunagawa, and increased resentment towards American military presence on Japanese soil.

kind of thing is very interesting to me, so I pointed my camera in that direction."[106]

And yet, out of the photographs chosen by Domon to represent Kawada's photography of Tachikawa base, none of them show any of this supposed interest in unrest, local organization, or protest. Instead, Domon makes clear why he has made the selection he has for the magazine in his accompanying evaluation:

> Mr Kawada sent us 14 photographs from a set that he endeavored to take at Tachikawa Base. The colonial way of life that can be seen in the city of the US Military base at Tachikawa is given to us here as a completely un-produced tour-de-force [*rikisaku*] of snapshot photography. Shooting with the Nikkor 85mm telephoto lens has provided the photograph with a kind of carefree objectivity, and in that sense, it can be said that the selection of this particular lens for the photographs' motifs is very appropriate. But when one looks at all the 14 photographs that make up the group showing daily life on Tachikawa Base, it should be noted that there is a lack of tightness, and a kind of disunity in the whole configuration. In other words, in understanding the theme in relation to the motif, it is a haphazard, anarchic selection of photographs. From among the photos, I chose five images that contained the motif of children, and from this tried to create one angle called "The Children of Tachikawa Base." If you go down into the city with a camera in hand, you can shoot anything. And although this is true, it does not mean that you must assemble these photographs into a group exactly as they were taken *in situ*. This is only a fragment of reality.[107]

In his attempt to create a sense of unity out of Kawada's submitted photographs, Domon has distilled Kawada's own version of realist or *reportage* photography into an even more tightly-controlled concept of how this particular subject should be photographed. The human beings in the photographs are all Japanese citizens, and any sense of the aforementioned culture clash comes through only in implicit cues: English-language placards and signage painted on the

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[106] Kawada Kikuji, et al.,"*Kichi no shashin wo megutte*," 132.

[107] Domon Ken, "*Kichi Tachikawa no kodomotachi, Kawada Kikuji (Tsuchiura), tokusen"* ("Children of Tachikawa Base," by Kawada Kikuji (Tsuchiura), Special selection") *Camera* 42, No. 10 (October 1953): 72-73.

side of a store, and the little *konketsuji* ("mixed-race") boy—the latter especially as a well-understood metonym for sexual relationships between Japanese women and American men, and therefore often a cipher for prostitution as well.

The photographs themselves are taken in such a way that suggests Kawada was an invisible observer. With the exception of the little boy, the rest of the photographs are wide, horizontal shots, sometimes taken from an elevated distance of some considerable length (due no doubt to the 85mm telephoto lens to which Domon refers in his evaluation). None of the subjects in the photographs register Kawada's presence, and therefore he manages a level of success in terms of the important realist tenet of the "absolutely unstaged snapshot." Even the photograph of the little boy, which is taken from a much closer distance and at horizon-level, captures the child in a moment of awkward arm-swinging: one hand wrapped around the back of his neck and the other flung backwards behind him, his stance wide and vaguely knock-kneed, his gaze distantly focused on somewhere far beyond Kawada's left shoulder, his boots appearing too big for his feet.

If in 1953 Kawada was beginning his photographic career within the realm of realism, the Tachikawa photographs demonstrate at least two significant things about his early work: 1) That even at this early stage he had indeed absorbed the aesthetic and social goals of Domon's realism, and was able to deploy them in his own manner to create images that were compositionally compelling and of contemporaneous social interest; 2) That in selecting these five photographs from Kawada's larger submission, Domon appears to be gently guiding the younger photographer towards perhaps the most complicated component of postwar realism (as least how Domon conceived of it): the emotional "reality" of a realist photograph. By chiseling away at Kawada's submissions until only photographs of the Tachikawa children were left, Domon

seems to be suggesting that Kawada still lacked that ability to force a definite emotional reaction in the viewer. By choosing the motif of children on Kawada's behalf, I argue that Domon is attempting to force a kind of emotional cohesion into the series through stereotypical associations with images of children: sympathy, protection, familial and human connection.

Kawada's early photography also shows other motifs central to the realism and *hōdō shashin* movements: May Day parades (Figure 16), clashes between the public and the police (Figure 17), veterans and beggars on the streets of Tokyo (Figure 18), urban scenes of labor and celebration (Figures 19 and 20). And yet, around 1958 and 1959, a series of photographs emerge from his archives that point to the beginnings of what would become his new direction, his new central line of questioning, and even a new fundamental concept of what photography was capable of doing.

Towards the end of his time at the weekly magazine *Shūkan Shinchō*, Kawada had been covering the impact of epidemic mine closures across Japan (Figure 21). Particularly affected were the rural coal mines, as the energy revolution took hold during the mid-1950s. Kawada's documentation of these mine closures for the weekly magazine still came from the impetus and style of *reportage*, but he has also noted that it was during that period that he began to be attracted to the idea of barren landscapes being able to by themselves convey something of the experience.[108] Even though, he says "I was starting from this place of reportage, I was still working to intensify those kinds of documentary images that had an emphasis on my own viewpoint."[109]

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[108] Fukushima Tatsuo, Narahara Ikkō, Hosoe Eikoh, and Kawada Kikuji, *"Jūnin no me • VIVO no jidai <sono 2>*," *Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai Kaihō,* Vol. 74, 2 (February 1987): 14-22, 16.

[109] *Ibid*.

At the same time that Kawada was exploring precisely what these intensified, personal documentary images might look like, he visited the fishing port of Yaizu, on the coast of the island of Shizuoka. In 1954, the city of Yaizu suddenly rose to national prominence after a fishing boat known as the *Daigo Fukuryū Maru,* the Lucky Dragon Five, returned home to port after its fisherman had been exposed to a nuclear test carried out by the American military near the islands of the Bikini Atoll.[110] All the returning fisherman had fallen severely ill with radiation sickness, and the exposure eventually resulted in the death of the boat's radio operator, Kuboyama Aikichi. Once word spread through Japanese newspapers of the contamination, Kuboyama's death, and most importantly of confirmation of secret American nuclear bomb testing in the waters of the Pacific, the country was struck with confusion and panic—was locally fished tuna safe to eat? Were the Americans, so recently departed as official occupiers, deliberately lying to the Japanese about the risks of radiation exposure? Was the Japanese government itself playing down the risks to its own citizens in order to save face in a new and unstable global order? These fears, as Homei Aya notes, had "a tangible form. The anxiety over radiation triggered what came to be labelled 'tuna panic' (*maguro panikku*) with plummeting sales of tuna fish. Meanwhile, grassroots initiatives campaigning for a ban on nuclear weapons tests emerged in different locations across Japan."[111]

Kawada's pictures of Yaizu, taken in the last years of the 1950s, express a kind of consciousness that the complexity of Yaizu required a different approach than the straight

[110] For more on the Lucky Dragon Incident, see: Ralph Lapp's series of articles in *Harper's Magazine.* Lapp, Ralph E. "The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon, Part I." *Harper's Magazine; New York, N.Y.*, December 1, 1957; "The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon, Part 2," January 1 1958; "The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon, Part 3," February 1958.

[111] Homei Aya. "The Contentious Death of Mr Kuboyama: Science as Politics in the 1954 Lucky Dragon Incident." *Japan Forum* 25, No. 2 (June 2013): 212–32, 215. See also Zwigenberg, Ran. *Hiroshima: Origins of Global Memory Culture*, Reprint edition. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

reportage and realism with which he had begun his career. Bringing with him the experiments of haunted, abandoned landscapes that he had photographed in the closed mines of Kyūshū (Figure 21), the photographs taken in Yaizu are of an equally eerie nature. The photograph of the Yaizu seawall (Figure 22) is at once beautifully soft and jarringly penetrative: the curved barrier wall disappearing into the staticky, heavy grain of the mist and fog is violently ruptured, over and over again, by the thick black bars of the docks thrusting out into the tide. A lighthouse photographed from the edge of the same seawall (Figure 23) is captured at the moment where its swivel catches Kawada's lens dead on: a terrifying echo of the atomic flash the fishermen of the Lucky Dragon must themselves have seen, just beyond the horizon of the empty ocean. Even the photographs of Kuboyama's wife and daughter (Figure 24) have left much (but not all) of the visual language of realism behind. Kawada instead seems to be looking for emotional resonance in the space of symbolism, not in previously-concretized themes or motifs. In the photograph, Kuboyama's wife emerges slightly more than halfway from the left side of the image, her eyebrows furrowed and her mouth downturned into the light, a small folded crane pinned to the breast of her sweater. On the opposite edge of the photograph, Kuboyama's daughter appears to be just about to step out of the frame completely, the tip of her nose and the line of her bangs just grazing the edge of the frame. Between them, the tide of the ocean surges up onto the beach like a strange and bleached-out stain. It looks threatening, divisive, in the space between the two mourning women.

Not long after his trip to Yaizu, Kawada would leave for the city of Hiroshima, accompanying Domon Ken. It was there, as Chapter 2 of this dissertation will explore, that Kawada would more fully break away from the ideology and techniques of photographic realism, finding within the atomic ruins of the city the potential for a new language and function of the

photographic image—how it could relate to time, to the subjective body, and to artistic expression.

Chapter 2
Stains and Shadows: Touch and Darkness in *Chizu* (*The Map*)

2.1 Introduction

In the late 1950s, Kawada Kikuji traveled to the city of Hiroshima for the first time. He was on assignment for the news magazine *Shūkan Shinchō* (*Weekly Shinchō*), working as an assistant to Domon Ken, as Domon worked on the finishing touches for what would eventually become his own important anti-nuclear war photobook, *Hiroshima* (1958, Kenkōsha).[112] As Kawada recounts in his 2005 essay, "*Shimi no iryūjon*" ("The Illusion of the Stain"), his arrival to the city began with an experience both surreal and fundamentally destabilizing. "I alight at Hiroshima Station in the early morning," he writes:

> A veil of morning mist left me unable to see anything in the city for a wide expanse […] Among the people that appeared from the grey streets of the city were many with poor eyesight. Suddenly someone from behind me, perhaps an American, asked me the way to a hotel. But when I looked closely I immediately realized that both of his eyes were slightly opaque [*hakudaku*] and that he was visually impaired [*me no fujiyū*]. […] We got in a taxi together but he didn't speak, and neither did I. When the driver turned his head for the payment I saw that his eyes were also abnormal [*me ga warukatta*]. In my hotel room when I faced the mirror to look at my own eyes the pupils were dilated. The first time I encountered the fear of losing my sight [*miru koto ga dekinakunaru kyōfu ni hajimete deatta*] was in the intense sunlight of Hiroshima.[113]

Layered within this uncanny personal experience, issues of artistic agency emerge, probing the tension between personal memory and historical narrative, and the poetic reinterpretation of medical and historical fact in the postwar city of Hiroshima. As a

[112] By then, Kawada had worked for *Weekly Shinchō* for about three years, and as he tells it, the idea of a documentary trip to Hiroshima, which eventually became the special issue shot by Domon and documented also by the freelancer Kusayanagi Daizo, had first been proposed to the magazine by Kawada himself. Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015; see also Kaneko Ryuichi. "Kikuji Kawada in Conversation with Ryuichi Kaneko," *Aperture*, 219 (Summer 2015): 122.

[113] Kawada Kikuji. "The Illusion of the Stain," (*Shimi no iryūjon*), in *Chizu* (*The Map*) (Tokyo: Nazraeli Press in association with Getsuyosha, 2005) 3, 13-14.

photographer, Kawada's sudden fear of blindness is simultaneously and necessarily a fear of artistic failure: the assumption that his work depends on his eyesight. The anxiety of desensitization is taken one step further still, into the realm of medical misinformation and global catastrophe, as Kawada implicitly interprets the blindness as contagious, and cross-culturally so. He is struggling with the feeling that *something* in Hiroshima fundamentally resists familiar modes of verification and meaning-making.

Nevertheless, on his first trip to the city, Kawada pushed through an overwhelming sense of dislocation. It is fitting that his first photographs for the project that would become *Chizu* began both as an act of separation from Domon Ken (and therefore symbolically from the hegemony of the realism debates), and as an act of mild youthful subversion. He has described "sneaking away" from Domon at various points during their trip when they would walk together from their hotel to the physical and psychological center of the postwar city: the Hiroshima Memorial Peace Park and its crowning ruin of the Atomic Bomb Dome.[114] The Dome, colloquially known in Japanese as the *genbaku dōmu*, had been known before the war as the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, and because it had been one of the sole surviving architectural structures within the epicenter of the atomic bomb's blast, it had already by 1949 been designated as a significant physical and iconic structure in the construction of a memorial complex.[115] On multiple occasions, Kawada would slip into the interior of the building, finding himself struck by the ways in which the walls, ceilings, and floor seemed to be inscribed with strange and unearthly cartographies of grime, ash, graffiti, and perhaps traces of something

[114] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 3, 13; Kaneko, "Kikuji Kawada in Conversation with Ryuichi Kaneko," 122; Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015.

[115] See: Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999); and Cho, Hyunjung. *Competing Futures: War Narratives in Postwar Japanese Architecture 1945-1970* (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2011).

else even more sinister and poignant. He would return again and again during that first trip with Domon, often armed with a large-format 4 by 5 camera to mitigate the intense dimness of the space, to photograph these eerie, abstracted architectural expanses, which he came to refer to as *shimi*, or "stains" (Figures 25-27).[116] In the same 2005 essay about his first foray into the Atomic Bomb Dome, he writes:

> Over a decade of wind and rain and daylight had completely dyed the ceiling in a very unexpected way. This scene created a vivid hallucination which renounced documentation by photography […] In a brief moment, dozens of people disappeared within a flash of burning rays measuring over 4,000 degrees at the surface, following by the pouring black rain, which, over time, resulting in the sudden appearance of the 'stain.'[117]

The finished photobook—designed collaboratively alongside the seminal designer Sugiura Kōhei, and with a short poetic contribution by the young writer Ōe Kenzaburō—was published by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha on August 6, 1965, coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.[118] 190 pages in total, 9½ inches tall by 6¼ inches wide (24 x 15.9 cm), the original photobook was conceived of and packaged like a *matryoshka* doll: the book itself is nested into an inner four-leaf foldout jacket, which is in turn inserted into a slipcover (Figure 28).

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[116] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015.

[117] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 2-3, 12.

[118] Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito-gaisuto wo shikakuka suru hōhō, kikite = Iizawa Kōtarō* [Iizawa Kōtarō interviews Kawada Kikuji: How to Visualize a Zeitgeist]," in *Nihon no shashinka 33: Kawada Kikuji* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 4. The photobook sold for 2000 JPY in 1965, roughly the equivalent of 5.50 USD at the time. In 2016, good-condition copies of *Chizu* will regularly sell at auction for close to 20,000 USD. Since its original publication in 1965, *Chizu* has been reprinted twice. First, in 2005, as a 500-edition facsimile reprint by Getsuyosha and Nazraeli Press, and more recently by Akio Nagasawa in 2014 as 600-edition run. The latest facsimile reprint by Akio Nagasawa not only endeavored to faithfully reproduce the interior contents of the photobook as the 2005 edition had done, but also attempted to reprint the original text, jackets, and inserts, which the 2005 reprint had omitted.

The outer slipcover is made of thick, tan-colored, very slightly corrugated cardboard, and is printed on its upper half with green text and schematic images (Figure 29). The title of the photobook first appears here in Japanese at the top alongside Kawada's name (「川田喜久治—地図」) while the English translation ("kikuji kawada—the map") sits below in slightly smaller font size. To the right of the English title, the publisher's name and the original selling price of the photobook are printed in Japanese, and to the left of the titling, a thin green circle surrounds the characters for 写真集 (*shashinshū* / photo-collection). Below this, there is a short, poetic Japanese epigraph:

> *Ware ware wa • yūki mo yashin mo kōdō mo • soshite utsukushii kioku mo nai jidai wo tadayotte ikitekita. Toe! Ima • ware ware no chizu wa doko ni aru ka • ware ware no vijon to kagayakashii chitsujo wa—?*
>
> We have drifted into living in an era with no courage, no ambition, no action, and with no beautiful memories. Ask! Where is our map now? Our vision and our glittering order—?

Below these words are printed two schematized images: on the left the abstraction of a compass face, pointing north towards the upper left-hand corner of the book, and on the right a reproduction of a topographical elevation, in a slightly misshapen oval.

When pulled from the slipcover, the inner jacket reveals that these two images—the compass and the elevation—are reproduced here again in faint silvery grey on black, this time in repetition over the entirety of the cover so as to serve as a kind of ground for the white lettering above. When folded up, the inner jacket is fastened closed via a neat set of tabs that meet in the center, and the name of the photobook, with Kawada's name, again appears in Japanese (「川田喜久治—地図」) vertically on one side of the tab, and also again in English ("kikuji kawada—the map") on the other. Additionally, the English side of the tab is also printed with a descending

list of the word “map” in English, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and romanized Russian: *map, carta, mapa, carte, landkarte, kápta*. When the outer jacket is unfolded, the interior of the four leaves reveals more multilingual text radiating outward from where the interior slipcover is resting: loaded postwar phrases and other seemingly innocuous words and numbers like “ENOLA GAY,” “atom,” “*chizu*,” “pop-corn,” “礼式,” “*uraniumu*,” “corn pipe,” “*ainshutain* の sign,” “VI,” “VII,” “rocket,” “**あばら**家,” “staccato,” “off-limit,” “入口,” “you are my sunshine,” “manhattan 計画,” “drink coca cola,” “8/6,” “informal の日の丸,” “war department,” “*naikii ajakusu*,” “*hiroshima*,” “taint,” “12/8,” “汚点の sign,” “keloid,” “8.15,” “the map,” etc., in combinations of Japanese *kanji*, *katakana*, and English encircle the interior book like a halo (Figure 30).[119]

These phrases are again repeated on the physical cover of the photobook, this time in black on a ground of a monochromatic flame, not unlike the curling of burning paper (Figure 31).

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[119] All italicized words represent katakana text. Other readings and translations: 礼式 (*reishiki* / ettiquette); *uraniumu* (uranium); *ainshutain* の sign (Einstein’s sign); **あばら**家 (*abaraya* / dilapidated house, or humble language referring to one’s own home); 入口 (*iriguchi* / entrance); manhattan 計画 (manhattan *keikaku* / Manhattan Project); informal の日の丸 (informal *no hinomaru* / informal Hinomaru, referring to the epithet commonly given to the Japanese national flag); *naikii ajakusu* (Nike Ajax, referring to the first American surface-to-air missile, introduced in 1954); 汚点の sign (*oten no* sign / the sign of the stain). The numbers quoted above—8/6, 12/8, and 8.15—appear to refer to significant dates and times: 8/6 standing in for August 6th, the date that the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, and 8.15 referring to the time, 8:15 in the morning, that the bomb exploded over the city. The date 12/8, or December 8th, most likely refers to the day following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, when President Roosevelt delivered the speech expressing intent to declare war on Japan and also December 7th to be “a date which will live in infamy.” (In Japan, the date of the bombing itself was December 8th, not the 7th.) However, it could also refer to December 8th, 1953, when President Eisenhower delivered at the UN General Assembly the speech entitled “Atoms for Peace,” in which he outlined several education and infrastructure initiatives meant to develop so-called peaceful uses of nuclear power. For more on the role of this address and its underlying ideology in the beginning decades of the Cold War, and theories as to its relationship to the American proliferation and development of nuclear weapons, see: Chernus, Ira. *Apocalypse Management: Eisenhower and the Discourse of National Insecurity* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Osgood, Kenneth. “Spinning the Friendly Atom: The Atoms for Peace Campaign,” in *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence KS: University of Kansas, 2008).

Within the photobook itself, every other page of gravure-printed black-and-white photographs was designed to be a center-cut fold-out into a four-leaf page, referred to as a *kannon-biraki* design by Kawada and Sugiura.[120] The physical and material fact of the book-as-object reveals Kawada's tendency to avoid straightforwardness and conventional expectations for viewer-image or reader-object relationships. The multilayered ritual of accessing the contents of the photobook, the combinatory code-switching of schema, image, and multilingual text, and the stratiform depth of the pages all prime the reader/viewer for an experience that is meandering, tactile, and demanding of a kind of sustained intellectual questioning.

Kawada's "stains" were among the first images he shot as he began conceiving of *Chizu*, and they comprise roughly half of the photographs in the finished publication. Although all different in their composition and level of detail, they all represent the smeared, flaking skin and cracked surface of the walls and floors of the Atomic Bomb Dome as foreign topography: formally divorced from the context of their original existence and with an almost obsessional attention to texture. Taken within the whole of the photobook, the stains operate as a kind of punctuation: a visual language that becomes increasingly familiar (yet no less unsettling) the more it returns and is unearthed from amongst other seemingly disparate photographs, providing a kind of loose structure and entry point for an immense and overwhelming collision of images pointing to Japan's recent past, its present, and its future.

If the stains constitute one thematic heart of *Chizu*, the way in which they are imbricated into the early stages of Kawada's career can aid in identifying the underlying visual logic of the final photobook. In both exhibitions and publications of Kawada's work from the early 1960s, the stains are clearly posited as a central group of images from which other photographs could

[120] *Kannon-biraki* refers to a style of *tansu* chests popular with the merchant class from the late-Edo and Meiji periods, in which the central two doors of the chest opened from the center outward, like a Buddhist altar.

radiate and to which they could respond. A one-man show of Kawada's, entitled "*Chizu*" ["The Map"] and held at the Fuji Photo Salon in November of 1961, included a selection of the stains as part of a thematically tripartite organization, with each section being labelled A, B, or C.[121] In a joint review of the exhibition from January of 1962, the critic Watanabe Tsutomu identifies the thematic structure thusly: "[Section] A, the theme of a ruined stronghold fortress somewhere; B, the subject being the many stains on the walls of the Hiroshima's A-Bomb Dome and the environs; and C, city structures, and things like advertising signs and the dregs of lathe-shaved metal."[122] Even in some of the earliest conceptions of the project, then, Kawada is identifying the stains as a central thematic core, from which the ruins of the past and the signs of the present continually radiate.

Publications of Kawada's work in various photography journals from the early 1960s further solidify the developing structure and thematic relationships of the photographs that would eventually constitute the photobook *Chizu*. Over several months in 1962 and 1963 series of photographs, including the stains, and some pulled directly from the 1961 exhibition, were published in *Nihon Camera* and *Photo Art*, respectively.[123] Within the *Photo Art* issues

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[121] Ina Nobuo, Watanabe Tsutomu, Kanemaru Shigene, Kimura Ihee. "*Mondai saku wo erabu*" ["A Choice of Controversial Works"], *Asahi Camera*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Jan, 1962): 170-178. Several of the stain photographs were also published intermittently between 1962 and 1963 in *Nihon Camera* and *Photo Art*.

[122] Nobuo et al. "*Mondai saku wo erabu*," 173. Watanabe Tsutomu was a member of the Nihon Shashin Hihyōka Club (The Japan Photography Critics Club) alongside other critics and photographers that took part in the above-cited review of the exhibition, and he also edited the important *Gendai Nihon shashin zenshū* (*Collection of Modern Japanese Photography*) series with Shigemori Kōen, which began publication in 1958.

[123] *Nihon Camera* published selections from Kawada's exhibition in their July-September 1962 issues. *Photo Art* published five separate series of Kawada's photographs from April-August of 1963, entitled: "The Map," "*Kinenbutsu*" (Memorial Goods), "Town," "Window," and "The Man." All titles are written in *katakana* script, with the exception of the April issue title, which also includes the kanji characters 地図.

particularly, a new conception of categorization and relational imagery begins to emerge, especially in the April, May, and August issues. These three serial selections, respectively titled "The Map," "*Kinenbutsu*," and "The Man," act as a bridge between the 1961 exhibition and the 1965 photobook, in that they both solidify pre-existing themes, but also introduce new image relationships that can be identified in the later completed photobook.[124] In particular, the photographs published under the title of "*Kinenbutsu*," or "Memorial Goods," in the May 1963 issue, and those published in August 1963 under the title "The Man," point directly to the second major thematic relationship of images that would eventually be included in the 1965 photobook publication. The "*Kinenbutsu*" photographs include images of an elderly man with a white beard and medals pinned to his chest, war memorial statues, stacks of old photographs, and a *furoshiki* cloth containing bullet shells and a pocket watch, while the August series of "The Man" published memorial photographs of members of the Special Attack Corps placed upon domestic altars, the calligraphy of their formal last wills superimposed over the fabric of a flag, pictures of *kamikaze* planes in flight, and large swathes of scarred human skin.

Within the photobook, these images constitute the bulk of the second major thematic thread, that of "memorial goods." They are objects, sites, and relics of the recent past, including

[124] In her essay for the catalogue *Theatrum Mundi*, the 2003 Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography retrospective of Kawada, Jimbo Kyoko asserts that the April 1963 selection published in *Photo Art* would mark the first time Kawada used the phrase "the map" in association with these photographs. This is not entirely true, considering the title of the 1961 Fuji Photo Salon show. However, Jimbo is correct in her reading of the *Photo Art* images as a marked shift, which "all pointed the way to *The Map*." See: Jimbo Kyoko. "Celestial Residue," in *Theatrum Mundi: Kikuji Kawada,* Jimbo Kyoko, Kaneko Ryuichi, and Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, eds (Tokyo: Tokyo Museum of Photography, 2003), 57-58. Iizawa Kōtarō has also identified in his own way these two publications act as fundamental representations of the direction Kawada would take in the 1965 publication, but he fixates on the publication of the crumpled *hinomaru* flag as being the "first representative" photograph of the later project. He also however argues as I do for the sequence and combination of images in the *Photo Art* publications as being highly formative: "[in] this sequence," he writes, "one can see the formation of the nucleus of *The Map.*" See: Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu*" ("Kawada Kikuji, The Map"), in *Shashinshū no tanoshimi* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1998), 90-91.

not just the images from the *Photo Art* serial publications and the photographs of ruined architectural sites as identified by Watanabe as the central theme of section "A" of the 1961 exhibition, but also reflections of the *genbaku dōmu* in the Ōta River, damaged sake bottles with distorted, gaping mouths, a *hibakusha* keloid-scarred arm stretched like strange fabric, and a pile of wiry black hair reflecting the light.

Also included, in yet another layer of loosely gathered thematic content, are photographs of a more contemporary detritus: stacked television screens with the repeated image of a Self Defense Force soldier's head, discarded packs of Lucky Strike cigarettes, the chrysanthemum crest of the Imperial house grimy with shadows, Coca-Cola bottles and neon signs, iron scraps, notices of police investigations, and mugshots (Figures 32-36). If we trace back through Kawada's publications and exhibitions of the early 1960s, this final thematic grouping of images seems the last to emerge, and the least easily identifiable as cohesive and interrelated. Earlier, Watanabe identified section "C" of the 1961 exhibition as primarily relating to abstracted representations of commercial advertising and the dregs of industry, while in the serial publications from *Photo Art* these signs of capital and 1960s media consumption are self-contained and slightly hermetic, not yet fully integrated in the larger weave of the visual narrative. Yet their role in the completed photobook cannot be underemphasized. If the second theme of the publication points directly to the layers, relics, and mechanisms of memorializing the past, the final group of photographs attempts to capture something of the quality of the present moment of 1960s Japan—completing the structure of *Chizu* as temporal atlas and photographic palimpsest.

In the years between Kawada's first visit to Hiroshima and the publication of *Chizu* in 1965, there is one final stepping-stone that reveals much about the significance of the first theme of the stains, and about the consequences of Kawada and Sugiura's radical design strategy. Once the publishing house, Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, had signed off on the contract, Kawada and Sugiura's initial concept for the design of *Chizu* was that of "Siamese" books: twin volumes that would be viewed simultaneously (Figure 37).[125] Only one version of the maquette was produced by Kawada and Sugiura in 1964, and it can be used to trace the evolution of the book's design. In the maquette, each volume is considerably larger than the 1965 version, measuring 20 x 30 cm (7.9 x 11.8 in), and each volume contains 47 photographs, resulting in almost fifty-percent fewer images than the 1965 edition overall. However, one of the most marked differences between the maquette and the produced version is the lack of the *kannon-biraki* gatefold design. This, as Kawada has said, was discovered almost as an accident, a kind of recovery strategy when he was told that the proposed double-volume book and its size would be too expensive for Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, which was still recovering from a significant leadership crisis.[126] As a remedy to the reduced overall size of the photobook, Sugiura proposed that they use the gatefold design as a way to maintain the number of photographs. As Kawada has mentioned in numerous interviews over the years, the decision to make every page *kannon-biraki* was the truly radical discovery that brought the final design together.[127] The quality of the two publications, in terms of physical interaction and viewer-image relationship, is palpably different. Not only, as Iizawa

[125] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015. The maquette, or "dummy" version, now lives in the Spencer Rare Book Collection of the New York Public Library.

[126] *Ibid*. The chief of the publishing house unexpectedly passed away in an accident, and the subsequent reorganization of the company required them to reel in the ambitions of several significant projects.

[127] *Ibid*; Kaneko, "Kikuji Kawada in Conversation with Ryuichi Kaneko," 122; Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu*," 88.

Kōtarō has said, does the 1965 photobook inspire "the sensation of opening up the pages of the photobook to the right and left is like opening up the folds of a 'map,'"[128] thus purposefully conflating or confusing the purpose of the atlas and the role of the photographic image, but I argue that the *kannon-biraki* design also propels the viewer into the dual roles of archaeologist and editor, constantly uncovering and unearthing images beneath images, while manipulating and reordering the relationship of those images to one another.

Even more than the way that the maquette demonstrates the significance of the *kannon-biraki* design through its absence, is the manner in which it explicitly highlights the importance of the theme of the stains as a core narrative and central theory informing both every other image, and the photobook as a whole. In the maquette version, Kawada and Sugiura deliberately dedicated one volume to the photographs of the stains (Volume I), and the other to the other photographs that I have previously categorized as "memorial goods," and "signs of the present" (Volume II).[129] As the initial design intended to have viewers engage with both volumes simultaneously, the obvious reading is that the stains in Volume I were always meant to serve as a kind of counterpart to the photographs in Volume II: a constant reminder of the emotional power and radical vision contained within this seemingly simple architectural abstraction. Despite their eventual absorption into the more intensive, stratified, and obfuscating design of the 1965 publication, the stains clearly persist as the charged, atomistic center of the work. The arts critic and author Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, upon receiving a copy of the photobook for review, wrote in the pages of *SD* magazine in December of 1965 that, "the hero of this photobook is the

[128] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu,*" 89.

[129] With a few very minor differences, the photographs in the maquette's second volume are all reproduced in the 1965 publication. For a more detailed breakdown, see Appendix I of this dissertation.

stain on the wall. The meaning of *The Map*, then, is probably this."[130]

[130] Shibusawa Tatsuhiko. "*Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki*" ("The Stained Walls and the Groaning of Humanity"), *SD*, No. 12 (December 1965). Reproduced in Japanese in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 218-219.

2.2 The Stains (*shimi*)

If there is a way to summarize the quality of the reception of Kawada's first exhibition of *Chizu* in 1961 and the subsequent publication of the photobook in 1965, it would best and perhaps most kindly be described as hesitant confusion. Authors, critics, and other photographers were baffled, apparently struggling not only with the pure bulk and range of the images, but also particularly with the aesthetic and significance of the photographs of the stains. Contemporaneous critical reception reveals a tendency to focus instead on the undeniably important design strategy, or to attempt to grapple with the stains head-on and often in the latter case, to only find themselves wracked with more questions than they had when they began.

One of the first published pieces of critical discourse on Kawada's *Chizu*-related work is the previously-mentioned joint review of the 1961 Fuji Photo Salon exhibition. In the review, Watanabe Tsutomu is joined by Ina Nobuo, Kanemaru Shigene, and Kimura Ihee. They comment on a selection of recent "controversial" photography projects (from newspapers, photo-journals, special issues, and exhibitions) in the pages of *Asahi Camera* (Figure 38).[131] Watanabe starts off the review by immediately identifying two key factors in Kawada's work that would be echoed by his fellow critics multiple times in the coming years:

> Mr Kawada might be a person who has great expectations to depart from being a photojournalist [*hōdō shashinka*], but recently he's been working at a pace that has a completely crazy feeling. Therefore, in this exhibition, this feeling that he has used his own pace, and tried to work out his own ambitions, is much stronger than before. Within the works, the B section is not very good. The photographs are of things that look like stains on the walls, but the

[131] The "controversial" element the panel was asked to investigate centers around "the photography of today." Besides Kawada's exhibition, the panel also reviews four selected photographs from *Asahi Shimbun* and *Mainichi Shimbun*, two photographs from *Asahi Graph*, five photo-series or selections from journals like *Asahi Journal* and *Shūkan Shinchō*, two other group exhibitions, and twelve selections from the pages of *Photo Art, Asahi Camera, Nihon Camera*, etc.

> abstraction made it very difficult for me to understand the photographer's intention.[132]

First, there is the recognition that Kawada, perhaps because he is identified as a member of the VIVO group, is deliberately seeking a separation from older generation's conception of the purpose and aesthetic of photography. Secondly, Watanabe confronts section B, the stains, and finds them confusing: too abstract, too lacking in legible visual diction.

Kimura disagrees. "In the case of B section," he responds, "the scars on the A-Bomb Dome are still quite fresh, so it's not that it's abstract. I think that it's a very subjective thing, a little more real [*riaru*] thing, a little more of a literary thing, of a more isolated thing. To feel as though section B has an appearance of abstraction, I think this is perhaps a mistake."[133] Here in his disagreement, Kimura also first mobilizes the kind of contemporaneous language that is often used when responding to Kawada's stains: descriptive, a little vague, and ultimately poetic. In fact, even in Kimura's agreement with Watanabe that perhaps it is section A (labeled "fortress" in the initial exhibition) which they feel is the strongest out of all three, Kimura leans on a famous line of poetry by Matsuo Bashō. He ruminates on Kawada's decision ostensibly to eliminate human figures from his photographs of the historical ruins, and says of that: "To not even include one person, it's a ruin of war like that in 'summer grasses—traces of dreams…'"[134]

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[132] Nobuo et al., "*Mondai saku wo erabu*," 174.

[133] *Ibid*.

[134] *Ibid*. Kimura is quoting a *hokku* poem by Bashō: "*natsugusa ya / tsuwamonodomo ga / yume no ato.* Summer grasses— / traces of dreams / of ancient warriors." Trans: Shirane, Haruo. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 110. In Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* (*The Narrow Road to the Deep North*), the *haibun* entry on Bashō and Kawai Sora's arrival at Hiraizumi includes this poem. Most scholars interpret Bashō's meditation on the destroyed Northern Fujiwara capital as an effort to link the relative peace of the present moment with the knowledge of a site's violent past. As Shirane writes: "The 'dreams' in Bashō's *hokku*, in short, are also the dreams of the visitors, who have had a fleeting glimpse of the past, of the dreams of others [... the summer grasses are] the rich, thick replenished grass of the present *and* the blood-stained grass of the past." (*Ibid*, footnote 48.)

Kanemaru weighs in, responding in the last mode: that of the existential question. "When you progress through the whole thing," he says, "I thought about the sort of nihilistic hopelessness that is part of us humans in our time now. And in the last section, C section, while there is nevertheless a certain social satire lurking secretly there, there is also the feeling that comes through—something like: 'what in the heck are we supposed do?'"[135]

The tendency towards confusion about the stain, the reliance on poetic and metaphorical language, and the lingering sense of having one's own existence in the world fundamentally questioned by this group of photographs continues on in the critical reception to the 1965 publication of *Chizu*. Shibusawa, from the same article published in *SD,* compares Kawada's stains to the violence of action painting, or the grotesque surfaces of the work of Jean Dubuffet, the feeling of rough flesh, and—not entirely unkindly—as a stain left on the cover of a futon after a wet dream or night-time masturbation session.[136] The art historian and critic Takashina Shūji wrote at the end of 1965 that part of the simultaneously troubling and compelling quality of *Chizu* was that the walls that Kawada so obsessively photographed were "dead wall[s]," a fundamentally obstructive and frustrating idea. Indeed, he goes on to say that these walls are also "black," and full of "silence," from which momentarily "memories of the war emerge like a ghost from the darkness."[137] And the critic Yoshimura Shinya in his 1970 compilation of "masterpiece" photobooks echoes this by asking: "[what] is it that Kawada wants to express?

[135] Nobuo et al, "*Mondai saku wo erabu,*" 174.

[136] Shibusawa, "*Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki"* ("The Stained Walls and the Groaning of Humanity"), in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 218-219.

[137] Takashina Shuji. "*Shashinshū—Kawada Kikuji*," *Design*, No. 12 (December 1965), as reproduced in Japanese in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 220.

Somehow or other, Kawada Kikuji's groups of 'pitch black dark' stains continue on in eternal, steadfast stillness, protecting their oppressive silence."[138]

All these critical responses express the idea that something in *Chizu*, and particularly in the stains, resists a form of speech, legibility, or easy comprehension. Takashina in particular pins this on the quality of the photographs themselves, combined with a complete lack of accompanying text within the pages of the photobook. "It should perhaps be taken for granted that the images are more of the subject than the words are," he writes:

> But the fact is that an example of an album in which all unnecessary description has been omitted in the favor of the ability of black and white images to tell the story on their own is not a small precedent at all [...] the images themselves are descriptive, while being a world of silence, closed off from a place of anecdote.[139]

In Takashina's writing, the "image" here is almost always *eizō* (映像), not photograph (*shashin*). This is almost certainly deliberate, and even if it is unconscious, it belies a contemporaneous understanding that what Kawada has presented in his photobook is somehow not photography as usual, and certainly not using photographs the way they were expected to be used. It is Yoshimura who perhaps best identifies the reasoning behind the tendency to call Kawada's works *eizō* and not *shashin*: Kawada is not capturing an *event* with his camera, but instead using it to illuminate our relationship with time. In comparing him to contemporaneous photographers also documenting elements of the war and the atomic bomb through photography, Yoshimura writes that:

> Kawada Kikuji's photography is, so much more so than that of Tōmatsu Shōmei's, like a novel written in the first-person, rooted in personal experience and personal imagery. And while it could be

[138] Yoshimura Shinya. "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," in *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū* (*Research on the Masterpieces of Modern Photography*) (Tokyo: Shashin hyōronsha, 1970), 235-246, 235.

[139] Takashina, "*Shashinshū—Kawada Kikuji*," as reproduced in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 220.

> seen, seemingly, as a list of self-indulgences, it's that the eyes of the photographer, from 1961 to 1963, are not discovering the past, but the future [...] Domon and Tōmatsu, in their documentation of atomic bomb victims, are documenting experiences of the war oriented towards the past, oriented towards World War II. In other words, in the end, all oriented towards the event that happened. If we assume this, I think it is best to say then, that Kawada's *The Map*, in its documentation of the atomic bomb, is a document of experience of the war that is oriented towards the future, oriented towards the *image*.[140]

This choice of vocabulary not only highlights the perceived differences between Kawada's work and the work of the generation that preceded him (represented by Domon), it also attempts to fit him and *Chizu* into a then-developing new theory of the driving force behind the strange aesthetics, unusual compositional choices, and underlying theoretical concerns of this younger and increasingly forceful generation of photographers of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Even more than the debates about subjectivity and objectivity that took place in the pages of *Asahi Camera* in the fall of 1960, the tendency of critics and fellow photographers to mobilize the term *eizō* or *ime-ji* when speaking about Kawada's work in 1965 and later illuminates a new theory of photography at stake in *Chizu*. In May and June of 1960, Shigemori Kōen, who edited the *Gendai Nihon shashin zenshū* (*Collection of Modern Japanese Photography*) with Watanabe Tsutomu, had his two-part essay "*Shikaku gengo no atarashii mondai: Eizō* (The New Problem of Visual Language: The Image)" published in *Photo Art*. In these essays, he attempts to discern why it is that the newer generation of photographers had by then so clearly turned away from the hegemony of objective realism and its varying degrees of truth-claims, what the so-called "vocabulary" of these new photographers is, and what might be the underlying relationship

[140] Yoshimura, "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," 238. Here, Yoshimura writes *ime-ji*, in katakana.

between the photographer and their photograph during the creation of the image.[141] As an answer to the first question, he puts the blame squarely on the shoulders of television for knocking photography off the pedestal of primary medium for news and current events. As a result, he argues, younger photographers like Tōmatsu, Kawada, Narahara Ikkō, and Nagano Shigeichi began to create work that relied "on a philosophy of putting feeling and experience first."[142] The resulting visual vocabulary of the photographs coming from these artists, Shigemori argues, is necessarily one that "must be more than a mere direct translation of fact," relying instead on techniques of post-processing, high-contrast, and redolent, murky textures of grain, creating photographs best suited for the "increasingly complicated times."[143]

Watanabe addresses similar concerns in his *Asahi Camera* article "*Atarashii shashin hyōgen no keikō*" ("New Trends in Photographic Expression"), which is often credited with sparking the later Natori-Tōmatsu debates in the pages of the same magazine. Here, he traces the way in which the hegemony of realism was in part reacting against earlier photographic trends, and how in the latter months of 1960, the dominance of realism was primed to be overtaken in its own right:

> Photography's character of documentary and the reality of the lens are emphasized too greatly. Realism, or the so-called 'shit realism' [*kuso-riarizumu*], continues to flow, until the febrile disease of extreme reality [*shajitsu*] is rampant, and snap-photography [*sunappu-shashin*], which should really be called the absence of the

[141] Shigemori Kōen. "*Shikaku gengo no atarashii mondai: Eizō*" ("The New Problem of Visual Language: The Image"), *Photo Art*, No.6 (May 1960): 162-165 and *Photo Art*, No. 7 (June 1960): 142-145. Reproduced in part and in translation as "The New Problem of Visual Language: 'The Visual Image,'" in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989, Primary Documents*, Doryun Chung, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya, Fumihiko Sumitomo, eds (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 146-150.

[142] Shigemori, "*Shikaku gengo no atarashii mondai: Eizō,*" as reproduced in Chung et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern*, 146-147.

[143] *Ibid*, 150.

> author, is endemic, and subjective photography screams out in recoil from all of this.[144]

For Watanabe, "subjective photography" is fundamentally interrelated with the elusive quality of the *eizō* photograph. "Other than the literal meaning of the image [*eizō*] as 'the depiction of the form of the object,'" Watanabe writes, "the image is also carried out via the mechanism, which includes expression."[145] The combination of the photographic mechanism and this new tendency toward representing the so-called subjective expression of the photographer has created, Watanabe argues, has resulted in the need to "try and find a unique territory which is not possible by other means of expression."[146] As Thomas O'Leary interprets in his doctoral dissertation work on the evolution and debate of subjectivity in Japanese photography, Watanabe here is likening the emergence of the *eizō* photograph as the result of a "a hunt, or search, for a visually expressive power."[147]

Shigemori and Watanabe both agree that the *eizō* photograph, the "iconic" photograph, is not just a matter of stylistic difference. They agree also that the impulse toward the iconic in the younger generation of photographers must have something to do with the zeitgeist, whether it be due to increased forms of visual media, a sense of societal dislocation, or a lack of trust in forms of authority. However, neither one of them can seem to agree on the most salient issue of what it is in essence that makes a photograph "iconic" rather than, say, documentary or evidentiary. For Watanabe, there seems to be something of a new form of narrative at stake, separate from the

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[144] Watanabe Tsutomu. "*Atarashii shashin hyōgen no keikō"* ("New Trends in Photographic Expression"), *Asahi Camera*, Vol. 45, No. 9 (September 1960): 148-149, 148.

[145] Watanabe, "*Atarashii shashin hyōgen no keikō"* ("New Trends in Photographic Expression"), 148.

[146] *Ibid.*

[147] O'Leary, Thomas. *Tokyo Visions: Contemporary Japanese Photography and the Search for a Subjective Documentary* (PhD Diss., University of Southern California, 2009), 73.

"montage" photography of realism and *hōdō shashin*,[148] while for Shigemori, the *eizō* photograph explores the possibility of a new form of "visual language" beyond the "direct translation of the facts."[149] These two ruminations on the language of *eizō,* and its manifestation in the first postwar generation of photographers illuminate the critical struggle to give nomenclature and order to an emergent new philosophy of a medium, but in reality they do little to pin down concretely what is so formally and theoretically disruptive and illusive in Kawada's work for *Chizu*. In order to begin to do so, we must revisit the specifics of the hegemony of 1950s realism, to interrogate what, specifically, Kawada is presenting as an alternative in his "iconic" photography.

Like many of his VIVO-era compatriots, Kawada's early aesthetic choices and theoretical concerns were both indebted to, and reacting against, the dominance of Domon Ken and the realism debates. The photographic realism touted by Domon— the "absolutely unstaged snapshot"—was just one interpretative move performed by prewar photographers and critics who were dissatisfied by those proponents of *geijutsu shashin* ("art photography"), whose aesthetic criteria were often defined by attempting to imitate the qualities of painting. Critics contemporary to Domon, like Itagaki Takao and Ina Nobuo, also argued along similar lines (albeit with some subtle differences) that because the camera was the mechanical "child" of a new "machine civilization […] therefore photography's special qualities of 'mechanicalness' should be recognized!"[150] The inherent nature of this new mechanical child was, they argued, its

[148] Watanabe, "*Atarashii shashin hyōgen no keikō"* ("New Trends in Photographic Expression"), 149.

[149] Shigemori, "*Shikaku gengo no atarashii mondai: Eizō,*" as reproduced in Chung et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern,* 150.

[150] Ina Nobuo. *Shashin ni kaere: Ina Nobuo shashin ronshu* (Tōkyō: Nikon Nikkōru Kurabu, 2005), 22, 24.

ability to capture reality indexically: light imprinted on film without any post-production manipulation or claims to literary or lyrical expressionism.[151] Photographers famous for their involvement in the avant-garde techniques of *shinkō shashin*—a movement that understood photography's medium-specificity and mechanical "eye" as integral to an expression of the modern vision of the world—also began in the 1930s to understand that the indexical trace of the photograph could be turned onto the world as part of a project of social consciousness—the project of "photojournalism," *hōdō shashin* or "documentary photography," *kiroku shashin*.[152] Natori Yōnosuke, Kimura Ihee, and Horino Masao—among many others—began to work in a vein that combined an exaltation of the mechanical media with the ability to communicate a specific message about society *to* society at large.

By the early postwar, however, Domon Ken had transformed the indexical nature of the photograph into grounds for an almost moral responsibility of the photographer. In his 1953 essay, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture," he reiterates the by-then well-known contentions against photography as imitative as painting, but now claiming that—if employed correctly—photography was "the sole creative method that can truly contribute to society."[153] The "absolutely unstaged snapshot" was the photographer's method of recording reality: no

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[151] There are of course many more valences to the realities of and responses to *geijutsu shashin.* The general objection by critics of Ina and Domon's generation was that photography should be true to its own nature as medium of reproduction of reality, not imitative of painting and painterly aesthetics. For a more detailed study of these concerns, see Ross, Kerry Lynn. "Middlebrow Photography: The Aesthetics of Craft of *Geijutsu shashin*," in *Between Art and Industry: Hobby Photography and Middle-Class Life in Early 20th-century Japan* (PhD diss, Columbia University, 2006), 183-216.

[152] Kaneko, Ryuichi. "Realism and Propaganda," in *The History of Japanese Photography,* Anne Tucker, Iizawa Kōtarō, Kinoshita Naoyuki, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, eds, (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003), 188.

[153] Domon Ken. "*Riarizumu shashin to saron pikuchua*" ("Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture"), *Camera*, Vol. 18 (October 1953): 185-187, reproduced and translated in Ivan Vartanian, ed., *Setting Sun: Writings by Japanese Photographers* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2006), 24.

artifice, no posing, and certainly no post-production manipulation. However, according to Domon, the onus of this responsibility was not that of the camera-as-machine, but rather that of the person looking through the lens and releasing the shutter. "The *person* who shoots," he writes, "his view of the world, and his method of expression are what contain Realism. It is not a problem of the machine; it is a problem of the human being."[154] This human being, however, was still defined by the "strength of the eye," that is, "the will to see and capture the *reality* of the subject."[155]

Of course, Domon's claims to objective realism were often subverted by his own illuminations of his photographic practice, where his monthly judging in the pages of *Camera* and other like publications made it clear that his stance on objectivity was problematized by clear opinions on the "quality" of a photograph being improved by a photographer's direct intervention into the cropping, manipulation, and overall approach to the subject.[156] In Domon's version of good realist photography, the photographer's *presence*—integral though it was for photographic practice—should be invisible with regards to the relationship to the subject of the photograph. As previously discussed, Domon's reality was necessarily predicated on the human body's relationship to the external world, but this did not relate inherently to subjectivity of the photographic practice. To repeat his 1957 claim: "a fact or reality is what I see with my eyes, hear with my ears, touch with my hands. And it has nothing to do with subjectivity, which is to say it is actually there, something that actually occurs. […] Reality is the thing at hand, concrete

[154] Domon Ken, "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture" as reproduced in Vartanian, *Setting Sun*, 26.

[155] *Ibid*, 21.

[156] Thomas, "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality," 385-386.

and objective."[157]

In the same issue of *Camera* magazine in which Domon's "Photographic Realism and the Salon Picture" was published, a conversation between the photography greats of the 1950s—Domon, Kimura Ihee, Ina Nobuo, Watanabe Yoshio, Tanaka Masao, and Kamekura Yūsaku—added yet more voices to the attempt to define the relationship between the photographer, the apparatus of the camera, and the stakes of objectivity and realism. The following exchange begins to illuminate how steadfast Kimura, for example, could be on the way in which the mechanical apparatus of the camera ultimately negated the potential for the subjective existence of the photographer to modulate or affect the resultant photograph:

> WATANABE: Kimura, say you were going to photograph Tanaka here next to us, for example. It is only Tanaka, there is no idea or concept added to this. But with Domon, it is his own concept that is added. That's the debate, isn't it?
>
> KIMURA: It's not that, no. If Tanaka comes out clearly in the photograph, that's the mechanism.
>
> TANAKA: It's not the mechanism. It's you, Kimura! It is Tanaka Masao photographed by Kimura Ihee, isn't that a very important element, beyond that of the shutter?
>
> KIMURA: No matter who shoots the picture, or who uses the machine, the above-mentioned Tanaka will still emerge. A person other than Tanaka isn't going to suddenly show up in the photograph. If Domon takes the photograph, or even if Tanaka takes the photograph, of course it will always be Tanaka in the photograph. That is objectivity.[158]

Later in the conversation, Kamekura pushes Kimura further on his insistence on the role of the mechanism of the camera as the ultimate source of objectivism:

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[157] Putzar, Edward. "The Reality of Domon Ken," *Japan Quarterly* 41, No. 3 (1994): 314.

[158] Ina Nobuo, Kimura Ihee, Watanabe Yoshio, Tanaka Masao, Domon Ken, and Kamekura Yūsaku. "*Kindai shashin no shomondai* (The Various Problems of Modern-day Photography)," *Camera*, Vol. 46, No.4 (October 1953): 65-73, 65.

> WATANABE: I think that Kimura's theory especially negates the idea of the self.
>
> KAMEKURA: Kimura, when you look at things, you look with your eyes, don't you?
>
> KIMURA: Of course.
>
> KAMEKURA: Well, when you're looking with your eyes, you're not looking with a camera. Since you are seeing with your eyes, it's a reflection of your cerebral nerves. That being said, your intention is part of the process, and therefore it's not just simply a mechanism. Since it's just your eyeballs, we can't expect it to be true that it's somehow separated or independent from your nervous system.
>
> KIMURA: Well, I don't disagree with that. (*laughs*) So, in what way?
>
> KAMEKURA: Well, it's not as if a recently-born baby presses the shutter button, it's forty-year-old Kimura Ihee who is pressing the shutter button, and it is the accumulation of all of his pressings of the shutter. And in spite of whatever your will is, you are pressing the shutter by yourself, the photograph isn't just taken, right? Therefore, Kimura's eye and the lens of the camera are the same, aren't they?
>
> WATANABE: You can use the lens like your eyes. That means, you are using the mechanism of the camera.[159]

While this exchange appears almost as an aside in the much larger and more ambitious conversation about photographer-camera relationships, the role of the motif versus theme versus subject matter, the fundamental differences between painting and photography, and ultimately the role of expression in the stakes of socially-minded photography, what it reveals is an undeniably important assumption running through these debates of the 1950s and early 1960s: that no matter the stance taken by photographer or critic, the photograph is implicitly understood to be an *optical* medium. Both Watanabe and Kamekura perhaps unconsciously echo the claims of the 1930s modernist photographers who deliberately conflated the mechanical "eye" of the

[159] Ina et al., "*Kindai shashin no shomondai* (The Various Problems of Modern-day Photography)," 66.

camera lens with the human eye of the photographer. In doing so, they reveal that photographic expression, realist or iconic or otherwise, is always fundamentally understood to be ocularcentric.

As I have outlined in Chapter 1, the postwar VIVO group is defined by their resistance to wholly subscribe to the dictates of the dominance of realist photography. Kawada himself has acknowledged an enormous debt to Domon and his photographic doctrine, but has also remarked that in the late 1950s, he began to see that kind of approach as "limiting" and that his own images—especially after his period at Shinchōsha—began to take on a quality of "imageness" or the "iconic" rather than striving for the "realistic."[160] As if in a direct echo to the ways in which Shigemori and Watanabe attempted to pin down the quality of the *eizō* photograph and only got so far as to identify a kind of searching, yearning, or exploration, Kawada himself has written about the period following his relatively conscious break with Domon's hegemony as a "groping for a new style,"[161] and the materials and influences with which he has spoken about engaging are varied: Art Brut (which was also previously identified by Watanabe Tsutomu as an aesthetic inspiration, and certainly reveals an interest in the grotesque), Francisco Goya (a fascination with history painting, psychological states, and the subjective imagination), and prewar Japanese Surrealism, all while under the shadow of the recent end of World War II. Kawada's refusal to settle comfortably into the mode of 1950s realism, and indeed to cast about in disparate spaces of inspiration for his first major work, is indicative of a larger suspicion about the photography's role in a society that seemed less and less able to be objectively captured. Julia Thomas puts it even more bluntly: about the furious debates of the early 1950s around "beggar photography" and the role of realism within photographic practices, she writes that the impulse to pin down the

[160] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito-gaisuto wo shikakuka suru hōhō, kikite = Iizawa Kōtarō* (Iizawa Kōtarō interviews Kawada Kikuji: How to Visualize a Zeitgeist)," 63-64. Iizawa uses the word "*eizōteki.*"

[161] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito-gaisuto wo shikakuka suru hōhō, kikite = Iizawa Kōtarō* (Iizawa Kōtarō interviews Kawada Kikuji: How to Visualize a Zeitgeist)," 64.

relationship between the idea of objectivity and the medium of photography was due in part to the fact that:

> [T]he uncertainty about what is real is so great that neither its content—beauties, beggars, or the bourgeoisie—nor the formal constraints most appropriate for its presentation can be taken for granted. In short, there is instability both about what should be known and how to know it. This elusive reality reveals postwar Japan as a society in epistemological and existential turmoil, as well as economic, political, and social distress. Japanese photography was not a pursuit stabilized […] Instead, Japanese photography was participating in establishing fundamental norms. Photography was part of the postwar process of trying to develop some consensus about what was, in fact, actually there and also about what should be there.[162]

In particular, because the dominant voices of photographers like Domon, Kimura, and others largely theorized photography as doing the work of realism and of an objective eye, I argue that these theoretical underpinnings also demanded at times that photography be thought of almost entirely as a purely optical medium, whether subjective or otherwise. A close engagement with *Chizu*, and particularly with the stains, reveals that Kawada, in his own hunt for a form of expression that could attempt to capture the enormity and complexity of the subject in precisely the kind of social, political, and existential atmosphere that Thomas describes above, instead is explicitly engaging with questions about photography's relationship to the *tactile* and the haptic, part of a further and uniquely significant destabilization of the hegemonic idea of objective opticality as central to photographic practice.

[162] Thomas, "Power Made Visible," 390.

2.3 A Theory of Photography for *Chizu*: Touch and Vision, Index and Experience

In order to dissect the way in which Kawada's stains, and *Chizu* in general, depend on a more multisensory conception of photography, it is vital to revisit Kawada's own memory of his arrival in the city of Hiroshima in 1959. The first person he meets there is blind, and then the next as well, and then the following person, too—he makes his way to his hotel room consumed with the fear that something in Hiroshima has begun to rob him of his own sight like the people he has met. He gazes into the mirror and seems to find biological evidence for his own optical senses failing.[163]

As a photographer, his fear is fundamentally disruptive and deeply existential. The underlying assumption here is that if he cannot see, he cannot make photographs. And if he cannot make photographs, how can he be expected to make sense of the world? The way in which the reality of postwar Hiroshima, the Atomic Bomb Dome, and its darkly stained interior seem to physically attack Kawada as an ocularcentric sensory being, and as a person who was attempting to discover for himself his own mode of expression and his own method of photography, is both emotional fact and symbolic metaphor. Kawada's description of Hiroshima as a "blinded" city is a poetic interpretation of a social and medical postwar reality: the important *Hiroshima-Nagasaki no Genbaku Saigai* of 1979 (published in the English edition in 1981), which attempted to catalogue all known physical, psychological, and social effects in both bomb-affected cities, notes that cataracts clearly resulting from the heightened exposure to radiation were one of the very first medical issues to be noted among the city's survivors.[164] At the same

[163] Kawada Kikuji, "The Illusion of the Stain," (*Shimi no iryūjon*), 3, 13-14.

[164] Hiroshima-shi Nagasaki-shi Genbaku Saigaishi Henshū Iinkai. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings: The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs*, trans., Eisei Ishikawa and David L Swain (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 203.

time, Kawada's reference to this particular moment in time as one where he was "groping for a new style,"[165] reflects his mistrust in the hegemony of realism as a metonymic loss of sight. Finding himself foundering in an iconic, loaded architectural space that seems to "resist" documentation by photography by dint of its complex layers of time and violence, and struggling with his suspicion of realism and its emphasis on objectivity opticality, where would a young photographer be expected to turn?[166]

The answer lies at least partially inside the book-object of *Chizu*, and in Kawada's relationship with the stains. His 2005 memoir essay recounts how he first began to interact with the space of the *genbaku dōmu*:

> As the rain continued to fall one early summer evening, I sneaked into the seemingly isolated Atomic Bomb Dome all by myself. I could not take my eyes off the crack above the dark, damp basement ceiling. At the time, I didn't need anyone's permission to look through the ruins of the Hiroshima Prefecture Industrial Promotion Hall […] I could touch with my hands and view at leisure whatever I wanted, whenever I wanted [*nagametai mono wo itsudemo jibun no te de furenagara, yukkuri to miru koto ga dekita*].[167]

In the first stages of photographic creation, touch and sight are imbricated. In fact, it is this multisensory experience that seems to restore Kawada's confidence and conviction in attempting to capture the stains with his camera. While touching with his hands—*te de furenagara*—he is able to see again—*miru koto ga dekita*.

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[165] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji: tsuaito-gaisuto wo shikakuka suru hōhō, kikite = Iizawa Kōtarō* (Iizawa Kōtarō interviews Kawada Kikuji: How to Visualize a Zeitgeist)," 64. The Japanese word that Kawada uses here to describe "groping" for a new style of his own is *tesaguru* (手探る), which can also be translated as "feeling around for," a phrase that eerily echoes his sensorial experience inside the Atomic Bomb Dome.

[166] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 2-3, 12.

[167] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 3, 13.

The photobook itself demands this same heightened physical and embodied interaction. With its double centerfold pages, the reader/viewer is compelled to manipulate physically the images far beyond the turning of a single page or the shuffling of a stack of photographs in one's hands. In the physical, *tactile,* interaction between us and *Chizu*, we are as mentioned previously both viewers and archaeologists, editors and excavators. The *kannon-biraki* design requires the physical manipulation and unfolding of pages—as Iizawa has said, like "opening up the folds of a 'map'"[168]—and the full depth of the images and their relationship to one another cannot be accessed without this sensory experience. Additionally, it is tactility and touch that allow the viewer/reader to fold one leaf back in while leaving the other side open, and vice-versa, and back again; in effect opening up the potential for a different structure each time it is viewed, and allowing each person who interacts with *Chizu* to have a fundamentally unique experience and understanding of the photographs and their relationships to one another. Here, the presumed sole objectivity of the eye is put forth as biologically and psychologically unstable; inherently untrustworthy as the only mode of meaning-making, and categorically deposed as the hegemonic quality of experience. The eye alone cannot penetrate the layers of images hidden deep inside the heart of the object; the physical manipulation of the book via the reader/viewer's hands is necessary and integral to the full and individual experience.

More importantly, however, the role of touch and the suspicion of sight are furthered by both the subject of the photographs themselves and their relationship to the indexicality of light. The stains are a layered multiplicity of indexical traces. They are an indexical record—the photograph itself—of an indexical moment of contact: either the scratching of graffiti, the smearing of dirt, or the implicit echo of that most darkly iconic image of the period, the shadow of a human being seared into concrete by the heat of the atomic bomb's flash. The manner in

[168] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu,*" 89.

which Kawada photographs the stains—the large format camera, the intensely cropped compositions, the attention paid to the delicacies of grey variants in monochrome—highlights not only the layering of these indexical traces, but also their obsessively textural quality, calling out to the reader's haptic nerve-centers, urging the hand to trace the edges of these strange continents. Kawada here is prompting us to reevaluate our relationship to the past, and to the way that photography attempts its own capturing of history. The stains and their inherent relationship to tactility instead assert that the violence of the past is not gone, not behind us, but instead still lingers here with us in the present—so close and so substantial that we are able to reach out and touch it.

In general, the preexisting theoretical discourse on the relationship between touch and photography seems to hinge on two distinct systems of language and two distinct understandings of the nature of touch itself. The first is the language of the literal, where seeing and touch are both imbricated in making meaning of our bodies in the world and in our environments, but also where the *process* of photography—the indexical fingerprinting of light touching the film—is reinscribed through the tactile experience of holding, shuffling, and touching the photograph. Margaret Olin and Geoffrey Batchen have both gestured towards this in their own writing, where Batchen argues that "photography is perhaps the most potent site for any modern discourse about the relations of vision and touch," precisely because of its quality of "chemical fingerprint," and its image-as-object quality.[169] When holding a photograph, Batchen argues:

> We are reminded that an image is also an object and that stimulation is inseparable from substance. Most importantly, we are made to behold the *thingness* of the visual, its thickness, the tooth of its grain, even as we simultaneously encounter the *visuality* of

[169] Batchen, Geoffrey. "Touché: Photography, Touch, Vision," *Photofile* 47 (March 1996): 6-13, 10.

the tactile, its look, the piercing force of its perception.[170]

Olin, on the other hand, makes etymological moves when she writes that "the word *photograph*, meaning 'light-writing' evokes both vision and touch, and in exploiting the slippage between the two parts of its name, photography gains power as a relational art, its meaning determined not only by what it looks like but also by the relationship we are invited to have with it."[171] The implication here is not that we make environmental, spatial sense of the world through haptic perception of photography (as haptics is generally employed), but rather that we make, read, and understand the artistic, emotional, and political significance of a particular photograph (or group of photographs) through its simultaneous statuses as both image-as-index *and* image-as-object.

The second way in which scholars discuss this issue, however, is through the language of the metaphorical and the affect: emanating from Roland Barthes' important *Camera Lucida*, where he defines the *punctum* as the indefinable emotional content of a photograph, which may arise from any innocuous detail or element, but which most importantly is coded by Barthes in the language of touch. The *punctum*, he writes, "is this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me […]. A photograph's *punctum* is that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)."[172] The *punctum*, more often than not,

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[170] Batchen, "Touché: Photography, Touch, Vision," 6.

[171] Olin, Margaret. *Touching Photographs* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3. Of course, this move only works in English. The Japanese, *shashin*, is more involved with etymological lineages of 'truth" and "copying." For more on the etymology of Japanese terms for photography, see: Satō Dōshin. "*Shajitsu, Shashin,* and *Shasei*" in *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, Nara Hiroshi, trans., (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2011), 231-254.

[172] Barthes, Roland. *Camera Ludica: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 26-27.

is a highly subjective, personal "detail, i.e., a partial object,"[173] a discrete and yet sometimes-expansive element of the photograph that may not necessarily make itself known at first glance, but is what generates the lingering attachment to the photograph as both image and object. Barthes poses this in direct opposition to the photograph's other qualities of "education," or the easily legible qualities of evidence of a certain moment in time and its obvious political, social, or other contextual readings. This quality, which Barthes names the *studium*, is the manner in which we receive photographs "as political testimony or enjoy them as good historical scenes: for it is culturally (this connotation is present in *studium*) that I participate in the figures, faces, the gestures, the settings, the actions."[174] Most importantly here, the *punctum* is conceived of as wholly and completely subjective. It escapes, according to Barthes, codes of symbolic systems of meaning. Additionally, Barthes asserts that not all photographs may contain a *punctum*, while there are distinct genres of photography (news, pornography) that are purely *studium* and *studium* alone. These photographs he calls "unary," where "the photograph is unary when it emphatically transforms 'reality' without doubling it, without making it vacillate (emphasis is a power of cohesion): no duality, no indirection, no disturbance."[175] Here we can note perhaps a link to the theoretical claims to reality made by the older generation of postwar Japanese photographers like Natori, Domon, and Kimura, who called for easily legible images, whether for propagandistic or emotionally available purposes.

The inference here may be therefore that the subjective response to visual material and the *production* of visual material may not be wholly encoded via the occularcentric hierarchy of the senses, but instead may rely on layering of multisensory experience, reproduction, and

[173] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 43.

[174] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 25-26.

[175] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 40-41.

experience again. While Barthes' *Camera Lucida* is often read as a deeply personal response to the death of his mother, the very fact of great and traumatic loss as the impetus for his ruminations on the nature of photography is what may draw us closer to understanding the relationship between tactility and vision in Kawada's work. In Barthes' analysis of the relationship between viewer and photograph, the search to find, or capture, within the photographic object the thing that is gone and *cannot* physically be recaptured is also a slowly evolving frustration with photography's obvious incompleteness. Its evidentiary function falters in the face of loss. After a certain point, the *studium* falls mute.

In terms of a Barthesian reading of *Chizu,* the concern with absence is certainly foregrounded, as is the role of the *punctum* as involved with the kind of *details* only made possible through photographic inscription and reproduction. Indeed, Batchen may interject here with an astute observation on the qualities of the "first" photographs—the photogram—where objects were placed directly onto light-sensitive paper, leaving an indexical shadow as unvariegated forms. "These first photographs," he writes, "were truly palimpsests then, as erased inscription which is also present (at least in memory), a presence (a blackened surface) inhabited by absence."[176] Like the photogram, and indeed, like Barthes' insistence that the photograph retains its *punctum* partially because of its relationship to absence (and death), Kawada's stains are as much about capturing the physical evidence of absence, and therefore the difficulty in making, capturing, and maintaining meaningful connections to the recent past, as they are about transforming, doubling, and transferring our expectations for visual perception. To restate a previous quote for emphasis, Kawada writes that the stains were created when "dozens of people disappeared within a flash of burning rays measuring over 4,000 degrees at the surface, following by the pouring black rain, which, over time, resulting in the sudden appearance of the

[176] Batchen, "Touché: Photography, Touch, Vision," 10.

'stain.'"[177] The strange cartographic lives of the stains that Kawada found along the walls, ceilings, and floors are therefore both there and not-there: as much as they signal towards photography's inability to be an empirical recorder of the world, they also signal towards an *insistence* on their being-there, not as discrete individual faces of specific *hibakusha* as seen in Tōmatsu's work *11:02 NAGASAKI* (Shashin Dōjinsha, 1966), or starkly graphic documents of medical procedures as seen in Domon's *Hiroshima* (Kenkōsha, 1958), but instead as indistinct layers of ash, grime, weathering, and graffiti.[178] This, Kawada insists, is the real testimony of the recent past *and* the present: echoing the Barthesian quality of the photograph to be simultaneously dead and alive, both optical and embodied experience.

[177] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 2-3, 12.

[178] For more on the relationship between *Chizu*, *11:02 NAGASAKI*, Domon's *Hiroshima*, and Tōmatsu and Domon's collaborative *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* (Gensuikyo, 1961), see Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Iizawa also remarks on the texture and tactility of the stains as being one of the most powerful differences between Kawada's work and that of Tōmatsu and Domon: "[Kawada's] position [is] directed towards the malice of 'the violent world,' [...] Naturally, one loses the goodness of the openness one sees in the photographs of Narahara and Tōmatsu, and the subjects all possess a homogenous tactile sense, as if they were repeatedly photographed. It is right to say that this rough surface texture, the feel of it, that this supports the reality [*kata*] of his photography." See: Iizawa Kōtarō. "*Kawada Kikuji—"Chizu" no tezawari,"* ("Kawada Kikuji—The Feel of *The Map*") in *Sengo shashinshi nōto: shashin wa nani wo hyōgen shitekita ka* (*Notes on Postwar Photography: What Has Photography Been Expressing?*) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), 91-99, 98.

2.4 Atomic Trace and Atomic Darkness

Another common refrain in the contemporaneous response to the stains at the heart of Kawada's *Chizu*, besides their apparent difficulty, stillness, and silence, is the intense, pure blackness of the photographs. Yoshimura Shinya, Takashina Shuji, Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, and even later critics and art historians such as Fukushima Tatsuo, Iizawa Kōtarō, and Kaneko Ryuichi all periodically focus on the inherent darkness of the stains as one of the most profoundly unsettling qualities of the work. Takashina, we remember, writes that from "the dark silence of the walls [...] memories of the war emerge like a ghost from the darkness."[179] Shibusawa refers to "the low base tone that we should say emerges again and again in the photographic work of Mr Kawada Kikuji—'the detailed surface of the wall as dark black,'" and maintains that: "I was soon caught in the illusion that there was something like human blood seeping out between the cracks of the wreckage of these monotonous inorganic substances."[180] Fukushima Tatsuo, in an essay from the mid-1980s, comments that, upon seeing *Chizu* again for the first time in twenty years, the stains are "in a sense, drawings of reality taking darkness as their medium."[181] And Yoshimura, echoing many of these other writers, seems unable to shake the impact of the poetic contribution of Ōe Kenzaburō, seen most especially in the way that Ōe's particular phrase "pitch-black darkness" (黒暗暗 *kokuan-an*) resurfaces in his review, again and again.[182]

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[179] Takashina, "*Shashinshū—Kawada Kikuji*," as reproduced in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 220.

[180] Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, "*Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki*" ("The Stained Walls and the Groaning of Humanity"), in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 219.

[181] Fukushima Tatsuo. "Kawada Kikuji: Prophet of the Moment," *Camerart* 25 (January 1982): 39–41, 40.

[182] Yoshimura Shinya, "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," in *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū* (*Research on the Masterpieces of Modern Photography*), 236, 238-239.

What these contemporaneous and later responses to the stains are absorbing and responding to, through their borrowing and citation of the poetic foreword by Ōe, is the way in which Kawada's use of blackness is explicitly linked to a particular form of violence. In Ōe's poem, which is only accessible as an insert after unfolding the leaves of the outer jacket, we find the following excerpt:

> I have a memory of an encounter / just after the end of the war / when I went out on an excursion to a provincial town / and became puzzled after straying away from my companions / when suddenly an older gentleman appeared / and out of nowhere, began to strike me. / I toppled over / and my cheek was forced to the ground / and just there in front of my injured eyes / I saw a map. / It was oil / staining the ground where it had gathered in a mass / but to me / from this moment on / it was like seeing a map of the world filled to the brim with violence.[183]

For Ōe, this memory of seemingly random and unexplained physical violence upon his body is then forever linked with the "pitch black darkness" that he finds in Kawada's own map, in *Chizu*. In the poem, Ōe praises Kawada for finding his own version of the "pitch-black darkness as a style," for it "gives him a strong position for that wild, stabbing light that has never before been captured on film."[184] The "pitch-black darkness" is, for Ōe also, "a map of the shapes of human beings, the anonymous shadows inscribed on the stones of Hiroshima by an even more wild light."[185]

The connection Ōe makes is unmistakable. Kawada is utilizing photography's potential for extreme light and dark as a way to most accurately and essentially indexically re-inscribe on film that which the *pika*-flash of atomic bomb had already seared into the stone of the *genbaku*

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[183] Ōe Kenzaburō. Insert included in Kawada Kikuji, *Chizu* (*The Map*) (Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965). See Figure 28.

[184] *Ibid.*

[185] *Ibid.*

dōmu and other sites around the city of Hiroshima. This, in combination with the locality of the stains—the epicenter of the destruction of Hiroshima—brings us to the idea of the violence of the *atomic* stain: that which penetrates, rearranging the recipe of the cellular structures of the body, and is absorbed, becoming one with its point of contact. Kawada, in his evocation of the stain as a metonym for the postwar Japanese experience of the war and with the atomic bomb, as a metonym for the way in which radiation sickness and the long-term effects of nuclear weapons were still being understood both within and without Japan, is also mobilizing the photographic process as an echo of the atomic reality of Japan.[186] This is a singular artistic gesture of the period, and an influential political stance on the role of photography and its potential.

Photographers contemporaneous to Kawada who engaged with similar subject matter, like Domon and Tōmatsu's individual and collaborative efforts documenting the effect of the atomic bomb on the Japanese citizenry, harnessed the burgeoning celebrity of professional photographers to communicate the post-atomic reality of Japan to a largely international audience. Governing the production of these particular photobooks is an underlying adherence to directness, to a frank visual confrontation with that which sits in front of the camera lens (or in front of the photographer). While they sought to document the reality of postwar Japan, they relied on the older understanding of photography's indexicality as a form of truth-claim, rather than mobilize its indexicality and tactility as a metaphor for the very *physical* reality of many of Japan's citizens in the postwar period. Kawada's stains, instead, are like imagined X-rays of the reality of the body physical and the body politic. As Akira Lippit writes about the relationship between the visible, the invisible, and the atomic:

[186] For more on the role of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (the ABCC), the dissemination of images and information, and the impact of censorship surrounding information about the atomic bomb and its numerous health effects, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

> Nothing remains, except the radiation. At Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two views of invisibility—absolute visibility and total transparency—unfolded under the brilliant force of the atomic blasts. Instantly penetrated by the massive force of radiation, the *hibakusha* were seared into the environment with the photographic certainty of having been there. In the aftermath of the bombings, the remaining bodies absorbed and *were absorbed* by the invisible radiation.[187]

The so-called "atomic shadows," smudges of darkness on the streets, stairs, bridges, and buildings of Hiroshima, left as evidence of the literal evaporation of the human body in the intense heat of the atomic bomb, were already by the 1960s among the most chillingly evocative symbols of the terrifying power of nuclear weapons (Figure 39).[188] By photographing the stains, another form of the atomic shadow, and by having them constitute the heart of the temporal atlas of *Chizu*, Kawada is not only collapsing the indexicality of the photographic medium and the indexicality of the atomic flash. He is also pointing at photography's ability to do seemingly contradictory and potentially antithetical things simultaneously, far beyond the concerns of optical objectivity: to capture the thing present and the thing absent, to capture the thing that is indelibly visible and the thing that is terrifyingly invisible, and to mobilize the very indexicality of the photograph itself in such a way as to make us suspicious of it, to force us to question its relationship to the past and to forms of narrative history.

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[187] Lippit, Akira. *Atomic Light (Shadow Optics)* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 95.

[188] The leftwing documentary filmmaker Kamei Fumio filmed several shots of various instances of these atomic shadows in Hiroshima for his film "*Ikiteite yokatta* ("Still, It is Good to Live")" (1956). These images were then used as part of the "newsreels" combined into Alain Resnais' 1959 French New Wave film *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (*Hiroshima, My Love*, in English and *Nijūyojikan no jōji* / *24-Hour Affair* in Japanese). The prevarication between presence and absence in the atomic shadows, which Kawada captures in his stains, is echoed in the pendulous uncertainty of the most famous exchange between the characters of Elle and Lui in Resnais' film—"You saw nothing in Hiroshima / I saw everything"—where the act or ability of witnessing with one's eyes is, in a similar way to *Chizu*, cast under suspicion. For more on the relationship between Kamei and Resnais, and their two films, see: Shibata, Yuko. *Transnational Images of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Knowledge Production and the Politics of Repesentation* (Ph.D. Diss., Cornell University, 2009).

Kawada's mobilization of photography as a metaphor for a particular form of atomic trace anticipates a later trend in some of the Japanese avant-garde photography of the 1970s and 1980s, which more explicitly relied on a theory and rhetoric of violence inherent in the medium and in its relationship to the atomic. Naitō Masatoshi, in particular, is credited with introducing the conscious over-exposure of the photographic subject via flash photography, repeatedly reliving the flash of the atomic bomb, and its subsequent traumas, with every closing of the shutter. In two of his publications, *Tōno Monogatari* (*Tales of Tōno*) (1971-1975, published in 1983 by Shunseisha) and *Ba-Ba Bakuhatsu!* (*Grandmother Explosion!*) (1971), the flash is a constant source of erasure, a violence of extremity and the punctuation of a moment, which transforms photographed bodies into flat planes of blindness (Figure 40). This act of conscious erasure, however, is performed in the service of creation: to "make visible worlds of darkness," as Marilyn Ivy argues.[189] This fetishized use of the technical aspect of the strobe flash is, she argues, a collision of hypermodernity (light and enlightenment) and extreme premodernity (darkness and abjection refiguring and recreated only via that ultra-exposure), a collision inherent to the view of Japanese modernity from the 1970s.

Working more than a decade earlier, as he shot and compiled the stain photographs that would become the heart of *Chizu*, Kawada differs fundamentally in his view of how the past and the present can be linked to one another within the medium of photography. Rather than a clash of extremities, that illuminate and negate one another through the replication of a singular conflating, moment of trauma, Kawada instead reveals through his multi-layered and syllogistic linking of photography and the stain, the stain and the atomic, the atomic and photography, and the atomic and darkness, that the violence of the atomic bomb and the war was still being

[189] Ivy, Marilyn. "Dark Enlightenment: Naitō Masatoshi's Flash," in *Photographies East*: *The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed Rosaling C. Morris (Durham CA: Duke University Press, 2009), 229-258.

enacted every day, via the rewriting of history and the reinscribing of the significance of particular signs.

Chapter 3
Memorial Goods: Bodies, Inscriptions, and the Loss of Legibility

3.1 Introduction

In October of 1964, only days after the People's Republic of China began their first nuclear weapons test, the young writer Ōe Kenzaburō penned one of seven dispatches from Hiroshima, essays that would eventually be collected in the 1965 *Hiroshima Notes.*[190] He had been sent there initially the previous year to document the post-atomic reality of the city, nearly two decades after the dropping of the bomb. His goal was to parse the various ways in which the personal experiences of Hiroshima's citizens, medical and research institutions like the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, and the various transformations of the peace and anti-nuclear movements all seemed to collide messily under the shadow of the Atomic Bomb Dome. Identifying a central question that brought together the legacy of the Allied Occupation of Japan, the role and potential danger of national narratives, and the inherent importance of cultural production in the act of constructing meaning from the past, he wrote the following in his October 1964 essay:

> In this age of nuclear weapons, when their power gets more attention than the misery they cause, and when human events increasingly revolve around their production and proliferation, what must we Japanese try to remember? Or more pointedly, what must I myself remember and keep on remembering?[191]

Here, Ōe points to the potential separation between personal and national memory, to the hegemonic narratives of the atomic bomb in the media, and to the sense that nuclear weapons

[190] The first of these dispatches, from August of 1963, was tinged with grief and with anxieties about the future. Ōe's young son, Hikari, had been born with brain damage that would leave him permanently disabled, and at the time physicians were uncertain about his survival. A friend of Ōe's had also recently taken his own life in Paris, consumed with fear about the inevitability of worldwide nuclear destruction.

[191] Ōe Kenzaburō. *Hiroshima Notes*. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 97.

would only continue to permeate all aspects of social and geopolitical life. Especially in this particular essay, but indeed throughout all the dispatches from Hiroshima, Ōe is continually struck by the sense that the individual and collective suffering of the atomic bomb survivors, the *hibakusha*, was in danger of either: 1) being forgotten, due to a legacy of misinformation and fear carried over from the Allied Occupation of Japan, or 2) being co-opted, even with the best of intentions, by the political maneuverings of the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikyō), which was beset with infighting in the mid-1960s. Ōe asks throughout these essays what exactly should be remembered, as both personal experience and in forms of national posterity, to best combat these potential dangers of loss and manipulation. How should the *hibakusha* have their experiences represented, when their very existence implied a politically inconvenient culpability on the part of Japan's postwar ally, the United States? How should the anti-nuclear and peace movements within Japan best serve under the banner of "No More Hiroshimas," while the United States and other allied countries still continually proliferated and tested nuclear weapons? And indeed, even more implicitly: How might Japan's postwar constitutional commitment to military non-aggression potentially erase both the trauma of atomic bomb survivors *and* Japan's own responsibility for imperialist aggression during the Second World War?

With these probing and complex questions at the forefront of his mind in the 1960s, it is fitting that Ōe was asked to contribute to Kawada Kikuji's *Chizu* (*The Map*) (1965).[192] His poetic foreword to the photobook raises a similar, almost plaintive, version of the query raised in his 1964 dispatch from Hiroshima:

> it was by far the most violent rays / that carved the shadows of / unknown dead persons, veritable maps in / human shape / on the

[192] For more on Ōe's specific contributions to *Chizu*, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

> stones in HIROSHIMA. / with this map now in our hands, we set out to / a new journey, but to where should we struggle along?[193]

But even more explicitly here than in any of his essays from *Hiroshima Notes,* the poem continues on to shine the same urgent and uncertain light on Japan's own military past:

> the tokens left in ETAJIMA by men of the / SPECIAL ATTACK corps tell us awkwardly of / the sadly, insensible, somewhat / grotesque, shrunken, and petrified spirits, / the lost imagination and the thoughts / which had died before soldiers died. / and still it's not clear where on the world map / life is evil now, to the eyes of / a man actually living there.[194]

The references to the island of Etajima and to the Special Attack Corps (*Tokubetsu Kōgekitai,* or the *Tokkōtai*, more commonly known as the *kamikaze*) deliberately and further complicate the problem of memorializing, remembering, and narrativizing the past in postwar Japan.[195] While Kawada, like Ōe, is concerned with how the memory and violence of the atomic bomb manifested in myriad complex and interlocking layers by 1965, he is also equally concerned with how, and perhaps even if, Japan should memorialize its own violent past.

In the May 1963 issue of *Photoart* magazine, Kawada published four pages of photographs under the title of "*Kinenbutsu,*" or "Memorial Goods." The first page, directly under the title, shows an elderly man with a wiry white beard, sporting round-framed glasses, a wool cap, and a military uniform adorned with medals. His chin is tipped slightly upwards, the light

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[193] Ōe Kenzaburō, "Map," foreword to Kawada Kikuji, *Chizu* (*The Map*) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965).

[194] Ōe, "Map," in Kawada, *Chizu*. "Life is evil now," is a quotation from the English poet W.H. Auden's Sonnet XVI from his longer poem, "In a Time of War," originally included in Auden and Christopher Isherwood's 1939 *Journey to a War* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002). The sonnet is quoted in full in the middle of Ōe's poetic foreword to *Chizu* (See Appendix II for full reproduction of the poem in Japanese and English).

[195] Etajima is an island in Hiroshima Bay, home to the Imperial Naval Academy (*Kaigun Heigakkō*) during the Second World War, and now the site of both the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Etajima Base and Naval Academy (open since 1956), and the Etajima Museum of Naval History (since 1936). This chapter will further discuss the significance of the Etajima Naval Museum, its archive contents, and the Special Attack Corps in section one, "*Kinenbutsu:* Obscure Relics and Obscure Inscriptions."

glaring on the lenses of his glasses rendering his eyes invisible, and his right hand rests just at the collar of his uniform, as if Kawada has caught him in a moment of adjusting one of the ceremonial ribbons. The second page includes three photographs stacked on top of one another, all reproducing details of various memorial war statues, including the bronze relief at Yasukuni Shrine representing the men known as the "three human bullets," killed on a suicide mission in the environs of Shanghai in the early months of 1932. The third page shows a pile of several old, framed photographs of a young woman in kimono, a young man in army uniform, and the covers of various military manuals, including the army's penal code (*rikugun keihō*) and a book on infantry marksmanship instruction (*hohei shageki kyōhan*). The fourth and final page is a photograph of an unfolded frayed and fading *furoshiki* wrapping cloth on a white background, cupping a nest of old bullet cartridges, a compass, a pocket watch, and a badge identifying rank insignia (Figures 41-44).

With some minor changes and cropping, all four of these photographs appear in the 1965 publication of *Chizu*. They, and similarly themed photographs of the relics of wartime-era Japan, are a significant and singular component of the publication. Their inclusion in the photobook, alongside images of sake bottles melted by the heat rays of the atomic bomb, the keloid scars and clumps of shed hair from *hibakusha*, and the architectural form of the Atomic Bomb Dome, set forth a complicated and unresolved narrative of Japan's recent wartime past. I argue that this narrative, which would have been fundamentally impossible to articulate in the early postwar years, produces even in 1965 a surprising, unstable, and strangely prescient formulation of the way in which national and personal memory collided in postwar Japan. At its core it is a narrative composed of seemingly antithetical concepts: suffering and aggression, victimhood and guilt, and a sense of deep confusion about the act of mourning and memorializing.

This chapter seeks to analyze the content and formal qualities of these photographs that are part of the photobook's second theme of "memorial goods," to investigate the competing narratives of memories of victimhood and aggression contained within them, and to contextualize the significance of this inherently ambiguous, conflicted message within the postwar discourses of the atomic bomb and the Allied Occupation. This second theme, encompassing both military relics of imperial aggression and memorial relics of the violence of the atomic bomb, also demands comparison to other seminal photographic publications of the 1960s that sought to reproduce the reality of a post-atomic Japan. In particular, Domon Ken's *Hiroshima* (1958, Kenkōsha), Tōmatsu Shōmei's *11:02 Nagasaki* (1966, Shashindojinsha), and their joint *Hiroshima Nagasaki Document 1961* (1961, Gensuikyō), set forth formal and socio-political precedents of the narrativization of the atomic bomb against which Kawada's singular formulation of memory and memorialization stands apart. By situating *Chizu* within the legacy of Domon's realism and Tōmatsu's subjective documentary approach to the atomic bomb, and by making clear the historical conditions of the role of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in the postwar years, Kawada's photobook emerges as a distinct and vaguely oracular vision. This chapter will argue that, in the end, *Chizu* is a far more "realist" reflection of the way in which memories of the war and the atomic bomb in 1960s Japan refused to completely resolve into stable narratives or legible psychological conditions.

3.2 *Kinenbutsu*: Unstable Relics and Obscure Inscriptions

Nestled among the layers of Kawada's stains, the first images of physical, discrete objects that bear the violent marks of the atomic bomb begin to emerge almost exactly a quarter of the way through the photobook.[196] After turning a page of photographs showing the walls of the Atomic Bomb Dome inscribed with ash, dirt, and graffiti, the reader is confronted with the double-page image of five warped sake bottles, fused together at their bellies with their open mouths turned upward, the ragged, deformed rims catching the light (Figure 45). What is visible of their surfaces is reminiscent of the gritty and mottled skin of the walls of the A-Bomb Dome, and of the abstracted cartographies of the stains that came just before. The vertical slit of the opening of the *kannon-biraki* pages cuts one of the gaping mouths directly down the center.

Opening the pages at the slit to reveal the four-page spread underneath shows two separate two-page images, at first glance so seemingly similar at the middle seam that they appear to be one photograph (Figure 46). The image on the left of the seam is a photograph of slightly crumpled, fraying fabric, overlapped at the bottom edge with a page of equally wrinkled printed Japanese text. There is a strange play of light and dark at work here, as though Kawada has overlaid a double-exposure of some other abstract photograph of an illuminated window, obscuring the already unclear subject underneath. In fact, the smudging of light is from the reflection of a window on the glass of a display case in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, inside which the fabric and the paper rest.[197]

The text printed on the paper at the bottom edge of the photograph is heavily obscured by reflection and shadow. The reader can make out scattered characters and phrases: *Kōsō* (imperial ancestors), *kuni* (country), *shinkō* (benevolence), *ryoku* (power), *shinmin* (national subject) *yoku*

[196] For more on the stains (*shimi*), see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[197] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015.

chū yoku kō (proper fidelity and filial piety), *toto haha* (father and mother), *kyō* (respect), and most significantly, a glimpse of the word *chokugo,* Imperial Rescript. Based on the context of these snatches of phrases, it is clear that this is a copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo*), put forth by the Meiji emperor on October 30th, 1890, but continually used through the end of the Second World War as a document with a "sacred aura," defining the moral conduct of the citizenry and conditions of fealty to the state.[198] The fabric, we then must assume, is a school uniform from a young citizen of Hiroshima, the damage to it incurred in the atomic bomb's explosion.

The grey weave of the fabric of the school uniform is echoed, even seemingly continued, in the dappled, streaky surface of the photograph to the right of the seam. Overtop this surface, again as if Kawada has used a kind of double exposure, are the smudged, wet-looking brushstrokes of the last will and testament of a member of the *Tokkōtai*, the Special Attack Corps, taken—as noted by Ōe's poem—in the Etajima Museum of Naval History.[199] The 2005 facsimile edition of *Chizu* identifies this particular photograph as "*Tokkōtai-in no issho to ihin*"—"A Writing in Blood by a Member of the Special Attack Corps, and Articles of the Deceased."[200] In the photograph, the text itself is rendered in a heavy black, the edges smeared and the

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[198] Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 104. The Imperial Rescript for Education, along with the Imperial Rescript for Soldiers and Sailors (January 4, 1882), defined the relationship between the state and subject in Meiji-era Japan, in which the special status of the emperor and the imperial line not only defined Japanese nationhood but also demanded fealty to all species of authority, a deliberate attempt to control the perceived threat of Western-style individualism within late nineteenth-century Japanese education. For more on the role of the imperial rescripts and the evolution of imperial Japan in the twentieth century, see: Khan, Yoshimitsu. *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), and Hardacre, Helen. *Shintō and the State, 1868-1988.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[199] The Etajima location is also noted by Iizawa Kōtarō in "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu*" ("Kawada Kikuji, The Map"), in *Shashinshū no tanoshimi* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1998), 92.

[200] Kawada, Kikuji. *Chizu (The Map)* (Tokyo: Nazraeli Press / Getsuyosha, 2005).

characters—like those in the reproduction of the Imperial Rescript—largely obscured by the wash of shadows.

There is a visual equivalency in these two photographs, not just of texture and technique, but most importantly in the way that meaning is only made clear to the reader through truncated and obscured inscriptions. Language is rendered half-comprehensible, and the content of the photographs only barely resolves through the work of sustained looking and through half-concealed clues to context. Both of these photographs were initially taken in the environment of the museum, one memorial and one of military history: a site that usually supposes a clarity of text, the construction of historical narrative or of overarching message, and the mission of edifying the visiting public. Kawada's intentional obfuscation of inscribed language, and his deliberate refutation of the clarity of the institutional chat label points to two significant interpretations of the second theme of *Chizu*: That any attempts to render the past easily legible should be viewed with suspicion, and that one should attempt to view competing, even antithetical, narratives of that past side-by-side.

To the second point, the fact that the photobook's first two images of atomic bomb relics immediately give way to a relic of Japanese military aggression sets up an oscillation, a kind of cognitive whiplash, that continues through the following pages. Images of memorial photographs of other members of the Special Attack Corps are met with a clump of shed, irradiated hair from an atomic bomb victim. Further photographs of the last wills of the *Tokkōtai* (the text again deliberately occluded), the Rising Sun Flag (*Kyokujitsu-ki)* flown by the Imperial Japanese Navy, and the *furoshiki* cloth carrying military detritus are countered by beer bottles melted by atomic heat, keloid scars, the reflection of the Atomic Bomb Dome in the Ōta river, all interspersed amongst the stains (Figures 47-52). Approximately halfway through the photobook, a particular

and revealing collision occurs. A two-page photograph taken directly from one of the 1963 *Photoart* pages—that of the memorial statue at Yasukuni Shrine—peels open at the center to reveal a four-page expanse of abstracted ripples, surreal gullies and peaks of light and dark: the marred, keloid-scarred skin of a *hibakusha* in extreme detail and truncated composition (Figures 54, 52).

The top layer of this intersection, the photograph of the bronze relief of the previously mentioned "three human bullets," points to the kind of heroic narratives of sacrifice endorsed by the Japanese military and embraced by the Japanese media during the Pacific War. The popularity of the narrative of the "three human bullets," the *bakudan sanyūshi* or *nikudan sanyūshi*, predates the official start of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the suicide attacks on Pearl Harbor, and even the first formation of the Special Attack Corps. In the early months of 1932, Japanese incursions into Chinese territory resulted in the Japanese army responding to apparent anti-Japanese violence with force over several weeks, resulting in the so-called "Shanghai incident," or "January 28 incident." On February 22, three army engineers—Kitagawa Jō, Sakue Inosuke, and Eshita Takeji volunteered for a mission in which they would physically carry a bomb over enemy lines in order to destroy the defensive blockade that had been stymying Japanese advancement. The detonation of the explosives rendered the planned mission successful, but all three men were killed in the attempt. The Japanese media immediately reported this incident as an act of heroic suicide, prompting a frenzy of popular culture eager to celebrate the martyrdom of the *bakudan sanyūshi*. They became the subject of innumerable popular songs, stage performances both serious and vaudevillian, and their images were replicated on candy wrappers and sake bottles.[201] Their likeness, usually rendered as the trio *media res* on their

[201] Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (California: University of California Press, 1999), 77-78. For more on the way in which the "three human

mission, is still preserved more permanently in several locations besides Yasukuni Shrine, including Seishōji temple in the Minato ward of Tokyo.

A deeper understanding of how these specific heroic and sacrificial narratives of the Japanese military rapidly transformed in the postwar era from popular culture fodder to a source of largely silenced national shame requires a brief historical digression. As the Second World War finally ended in the Pacific theatre and the predominantly American Allied forces converged on the shores of Japan to conduct the signing of the Potsdam Declaration, 6,000 miles away the American government was already embroiled in concerns of a new kind of arms race with the emergent power of the postwar Soviet Union. In the ensuing occupation of Japan under General Douglas MacArthur, Japan's cooperation and role as enemy-turned-ally would be a vital cushioning comfort for America in the Eastern front of the Cold War.

For Japan, this meant that in the space of the first postwar month it would undergo a chaotic series of events that required an immediate and fundamental shift in Japanese conceptions of cultural identity, national power, and governing moral and social values. The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were followed six days later by the seldom-heard voice of Japanese Emperor Hirohito on the radio waves, announcing Japan's decision to surrender and bringing to an abrupt end more than a decade of what historian John Dower has termed the Japanese "victory disease:" a politically indoctrinating and socially manifested mindset of an aggressive, xenophobic military imperialism so intense that it had essentially blinded the country's leaders to the reality of more than half a year of steady, encroaching defeat at the hands of the Allied forces. "Long after it had become obvious that Japan was doomed," Dower writes,

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bullets" and other suicide missions were popularized and promoted in the Japanese press and popular culture during World War II, see also: Brandon, James R. *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931-1945* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009), and Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).

"its leaders all the way up to the emperor remained unable to contemplate surrender. They were psychologically blocked, capable only of stumbling forward.[202] Dower connects an element of stubbornness to the political conduct of Japan's war government, a government which—even before the war—employed social and psychological conditioning of Japanese national identity to preclude any possibility of defeat or victimhood as a viable identification for its people.

And yet, in August of 1945, all of that changed, and more quickly than had ever been seen on the twentieth century's world stage. The Occupation forces, headed by the MacArthur as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), immediately instituted laws of "demilitarization and democratization," dismantling military structures and educational and social allegiances to imperialism while simultaneously introducing and promoting liberal New Deal-style political organization and idealism. Whatever it had previously meant to identify as a Japanese citizen had been obliterated in a mess of wartime starvation, loss, and capitulation. And over the next seven years, Japan's eagerness to accept the necessity of its new role as America's best ally as the Eastern buffer against Communism meant that it could happily adopt the life of the reformed amnesiac crowned and charged with the goal of social peace and democracy. Its "holy war" sins washed clean with the wrist-slapping Tokyo Trials, the essential need of Japanese citizens to both grieve and repent after years of war was made entirely irrelevant, and for many of the early years of the Occupation, officially taboo.[203]

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[202] Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./The New Press, 1999), 22.

[203] "When all was said and done," writes Dower, "it was obvious that only a small number of high army and navy officers, few high-ranking bureaucrats, no captains of the war economy, and virtually none of the civilian ideologues in politics, academe, and the media who helped prime the pump of racial arrogance and fanatical militarism paid for the terrible crimes that men on the front committed." Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 449. For more on the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, see Part V of Dower's book, 443-521.

The Civil Censorship Detachment was an arm of the Civil Intelligence Section within the Occupation government structure, a sprawling bureaucratic network that covered Japanese and foreign publications ranging everywhere from major daily newspapers, books, magazines, and radio scripts to several hundred thousand phone conversations and more than 300 million individual pieces of mail put through the postal system over four years.[204] For foreign publications being translated for Japanese consumption, the CCD would usually simply delay or deny publication entirely rather than add the numerous possible foreign contributions to the steady stream of works that passed through the CCD's hands. John Hersey's *Hiroshima*, first published in *The New Yorker* in 1946—an influential long-form journalistic piece focusing on six survivors of Hiroshima—was ready for Japanese publication almost immediately after its American debut, but wasn't passed by the CCD until 1949.[205]

And yet, all of this took place without explicit public acknowledgement. Publishing houses and newspaper editors all received official notice that "no publicity regarding censorship is desired [...] no physical indication of censorship (such as blackened-out print, blank spaces, pasted-over areas, incomplete sentences, OO's XX's, etc.) may appear [...] no write-ups concerning personnel or activities of any censorship group should be printed [... and] notations such as 'passed by censorship,' 'publication permitted by Occupation forces' or any other mention or implication of censorship on CCD must not be made."[206] To be sure, even those outside of publication circles were aware that the CCD and the Occupation government had certain prescriptive measures in place, but because of the censoring of any mention of censorship

[204] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 407.

[205] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 414.

[206] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 407-408.

itself, there were large holes in the public understanding of what wasn't part of the permissible discourse explicitly because of the Press Code, and what was being silenced for other predominantly social and cultural reasons. The CCD's Press Code tended to be more obscure than precise about its checklist for permissible publications, and what was included in the checklist tended to shift slightly month-to-month. According to Dower's research, the 1946 Press Code included (but certainly wasn't limited to) prescriptions against:

> Criticism of SCAP; Criticism of Military Tribunal [the Tokyo War Crimes Trials]; Criticism of SCAP Writing the Constitution; References to Censorship; Criticism of the United States; Criticism of Russia; Criticism of Great Britain; Criticism of Koreans; Criticism of China; Criticism of Other Allies; General Criticism of Allies; Criticism of Japanese Treatment in Manchuria […]; Criticism of Allies' Pre-War Policies; Third World War Comments; Russia vs. Western Powers Comments; Defense of War Propaganda; […] Militaristic Propaganda; Nationalistic Propaganda; Glorification of Feudal Ideals; Greater East Asia Propaganda; General Propaganda; Justification or Defense of War Criminals; Fraternization [between Allied personnel and Japanese women]; Black Market Activities; Criticism of Occupation Forces; Overplaying Starvation; Incitement to Violence or Unrest [or, Disturbing Public Tranquility]; Untrue Statements; Inappropriate Reference to SCAP; Premature Disclosure.[207]

In actual practice, CCD censorship could be heavy-handed at times, given the sweeping and open-ended nature of the above prescripts. The kind of popular and political adulation once given to the Special Attack Corps and other troops likewise memorialized and enshrined at Etajima and Yasukuni was suddenly and expressly forbidden. The CCD once censored a glancing mention of a *Tokkōtai* pilot's death in a short story by the author Kawabata Yasunari, and even editorial or journalistic stories expressing sympathy for Japanese war veterans now

[207] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 410.

struggling to live in the postwar years was denied under the rationale that it expressed "nationalistic propaganda."[208]

Within this context, Kawada's choice to photograph the memorial sculpture of the "three human bullets" at Yasukuni Shrine creates an obviously and socially loaded node of *Chizu*. The relief sculpture itself is rendered on the base of one of the site's large bronze lanterns (Figure 54), and in the pages of *Chizu*, Kawada photographs the sculpture from the side, shrouding the supporting flat of the relief in shadow, so that the face and shoulder of the frontmost soldier and the tip of the explosive in his arms emerge in sharply contrasted patches of white and grey (Figure 53). The monochrome of the photograph and the angle of shooting render the human form of the statue ambiguously lifelike—the context of its physical support, its surrounding environment, and its inclusion at the infamous and controversial grounds of Yasukuni clouded in darkness.

Underneath the shadowed face of this immortalized, "heroic" soldier, the image of the keloid scar emerges like a wraith. Kawada has here photographed this poignant, complex, and visceral symbol of the *hibakusha* as one divorced from the context of the survivor's body. Sinking into blackness onto either side, the scarred skin seems to rise upwards toward the viewer, rippling across the pages. Like the stains, it oscillates gently between abstraction and concrete representation. Inserted deep within a publication that so deliberately avoids the form of the human figure, this keloid photograph and that of the memorial statue that covers it shift across one another with a strange, illusionary effect: cold, static bronze rendered as if perhaps flickering to life, living skin rendered as surreal artifact.

The keloid scar is the result of severe burns (like those created by the flash of the atomic bomb), especially when further complicated by lack of proper intensive treatment or by

[208] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 418.

malnutrition, resolving into dense growths of fibrous scarring over the traumatized area. But in the social fabric of postwar Japan, the keloid quickly developed a deeply metonymic function for both survivors and their likewise unaffected fellow citizens. Along with blindness and leukemia as some of the most common physical afflictions suffered by the *hibakusha* in the decades following the atomic bomb, the keloid scar was the most visible marker of an increasingly undesirable status. The psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton, author of the first seminal English-language study of the psychological impact of the atomic bomb on the Japanese populace, classified the keloid scar as the "A-Bomb Stigmata."[209] It was a physical, often painful, disfigurement for the survivors, a constant reminder of the traumatic past that many at the time would have preferred to forget, and a source of shame and fear.

In his 1964 essay from Hiroshima, Ōe noted that for at least one of the survivors to whom he spoke, the keloid scar was the most important identifying factor between self and unafflicted Other:

> A girl is ashamed of her face disfigured by keloids. In her mind she divides all people on earth into two groups: the sense of shame is the line separating persons with keloid scars from all others without them. The girls with keloids feel ashamed of themselves before those who have none. They feel humiliated by curious glances of all other people who have no keloid disfigurations. What life-styles have the girls with keloids chosen so as to cope with their burden of shame and humiliation? One of their ways of coping is to keep away from others' eyes, hiding themselves in the dark recesses of their homes. Those who escape this way are probably the most numerous.[210]

[209] Lifton, Robert Jay. *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (New York: Random House, 1968), 172. Lifton's exhaustive study incorporates oral history, testimony, psychological evaluations, political discourse, and artistic responses to the trauma of the Second World War.

[210] Ōe, *Hiroshima Notes,* 105.

Ōe continues: "People everywhere on this earth are trying to forget Hiroshima and the unspeakable tragedy perpetrated there."[211] The keloid made that desire for a kind of complete forgetting impossible, prompting survivors to want to withdraw psychologically or physically from society to avoid the shame, stigma, and humiliation of pity or fear from their fellow citizens. Furthermore, as Lifton argues, it often prompted "near-phobic responses because [keloid scarring] reactivates elements of the *hibakusha* identity in the keloid-free survivor which have long suppressed, as well as guilt over being able to bury his taint."[212] It was also an outward-facing, undisguisable mark that raised fears of the unknown, of the more insidious and less well-understood elements of atomic irradiation. At its most extreme, rumors would circulate among the general populace that the invisible malice of the "A-Bomb disease" (encompassing everything from acute radiation poisoning to cancers and cataracts) could be transmitted via touch, saliva, mother's milk, or hereditarily to the children of survivors.[213] Those survivors branded by keloid scarring often bore the brunt of this kind of phobic and uninformed discrimination: at the bathhouse, at work, in the marriage-match, and even in their own homes, from their own families.

Within the psychological and social context of postwar Japan, the keloid is a complex cipher. Kawada, in photographing it as decontextualized rivulets of light and shadow, nudging the image into the realm of formal abstraction, does not try to confront the viewer with the specific narrative of a single survivor's experience. Instead, in recognizing the broader

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[211] Ōe, *Hiroshima Notes*, 107-108.

[212] Lifton, *Death in Life*, 174.

[213] Lifton, *Death in Life*, 180. For more on cultural understanding of radiation poisoning, discrimination against *hibakusha* because of their status, and the role of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in the dissemination of scientific information, see section 2 of this chapter: "The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission and the Illegible Postwar Body."

implications of the keloid scar, in recognizing its status as symbol, he photographs it as such. The keloid photograph, argues Iizawa Kōtarō, is in this way "the key to unlocking the riddle that is *Chizu*."[214] For Iizawa, the status of the photograph as a four-page spread within the context of the photobook's design is as equally important as its content. It is like the center of the gravitational universe that *Chizu* attempts to visually map, bleeding outwards from the ghostly impression of the keloid scar. "[The keloid photograph] is also without a vertical seam," he writes:

> For Kawada, "reality" is constantly expanding and growing, just like the raw form of the "skin" affected by the keloid scar. "The Atomic Bomb Dome," "Coca Cola," and the "Hinomaru" [referring to the titles given to other photographs in *Chizu*] are not merely images of a "surface," for that which is carved into "the skin" like a tattoo is carved into part of *Chizu*. "Violence" is pierced into our own skin, it tears our skin off, and in sewing the rends back together, we share in the pain.[215]

For the critic Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, too, the keloid photograph manifests a special status, most especially because of its rarity within the photobook and because of its inherent connection to Kawada's stain photographs. In *Chizu*, he argues, Kawada "is fighting against the resistance of the solidity of material. From the interior of bone-dry substance, conversely barren, he tries to squeeze out the evidence of suppressed and hidden humanity."[216] The scarred mass of the keloid and the stains on the walls of the Atomic Bomb Dome are both the result of indexical atomic violence. The violence that has "pierced" them, as Iizawa says, through its indexical inscriptions, locks the *hibakusha* and the Atomic Bomb Dome both into living ruins: symbolic bodies that

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[214] Iizawa Kōtarō, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu*" in *Shashinshū no tanoshimi,* 95.

[215] *Ibid*.

[216] Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, *"Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki"* ("The Stained Walls and the Groaning of Humanity"), in *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, Jimbo Kyoko, Kaneko Ryuichi, and Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, eds (Tokyo: Tokyo Museum of Photography, 2003), 219.

struggle against the weight of contradictory meanings hoisted upon them, forced constantly to represent shifting and competitive narratives of the past. Kawada therefore mobilizes his own indexical medium, the photograph, to transform the scars on the architectural surfaces and the scars on living human skin into something representative of that psychological and social reality.

The deliberate layering of the keloid photograph with the image of the Yasukuni statue points to a further representation of the ways in which competing and contradictory narratives of the past in postwar Japan were fundamentally unstable and unresolved. Kawada photographs the memorial statue—physically static—in such a way so as to give it a hint of life. He disguises its real environmental context and true materiality, forcing the statue in the image to exist inside the realm of the uncanny. At first glimpse, it is almost absolutely a living human figure. With second and more sustained glance, the glimpse of roughened texture on the man's cheek and the metallic look of the light reflecting from his upper lip confuse this initial interpretation. The keloid scar of the *hibakusha* is also decontextualized, but this time conversely in the service of abstraction, towards a reading that renders the living skin strangely inhuman, if not fully object-like. The keloid becomes a elephantine landscape, a wrinkled pile of fabric, a monumental play of light and shadow. It is not easily legible; no one single reading seems to stick.

In the universe of *Chizu*, the memorial statue—symbolic and political—is rendered living, as if to point to the fact that those heroic narratives, those noble suicidal sacrifices and the imperial ideology that motivated them, is still potentially living within the memory of the Japanese people, no matter how much the context of the Allied Occupation may have wished to bury them quickly. And the cellular life of the skin of an individual, subjective Japanese citizen is conversely transformed via abstraction into something symbolic. Kawada here represents both the memorial war statue at Yasukuni and the keloid scar as spaces of unstable meaning, the

essence of their psychological complexity photographed more than their physical reality. He does not use photography as a corrective to the problem of narrativizing the past—whether it be of Japan's wartime aggression or the treatment of *hibakusha*—but instead mobilizes the photograph as an attempt to reflect the very conditions of those narratives.

3.3 The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission and the Illegible Postwar Body

The Allied Occupation of Japan lasted from August 1945 to April of 1952; in that time a series of formative postwar narratives and policies related to World War II, the atomic bomb, the Cold War, Japanese national identity, victimhood, and freedom of speech would become deeply enmeshed with one another. Despite the heralding of this first postwar decade in Japan as one of non-violence, demilitarization, and the birth of the peace movement, the Occupation period was fraught with tensions between the new politics and the social reality that would persist into the 1960s in a myriad of forms.

Often, Allied Occupation policy warred quietly with issues of Japanese identity: the postwar nation's breakneck demilitarization and rapid push to reclassify America as ally (rather than Occupier) where it had so recently been enemy meant that decades of Japan's imperialist goals and militaristic outlook obviously were no longer viable as national ideals. Even more troubling for a good portion of the citizenry was the way in which the Japanese experience of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were relegated away from the memories and concerns of survivors, and towards science and secrecy.

In his first August 1963 dispatch from Hiroshima, Ōe Kenzaburō notes that:

> For ten years after the atomic bomb was dropped there was so little public discussion of the bomb or of radioactivity that even the *Chugoku Shinbun*, the major newspaper of the city where the atomic bomb was dropped, did not have the movable type for "atomic bomb" or "radioactivity." The silence continued so long because the US Army Surgeons Investigation Team in the fall of 1945 had issued a mistaken statement: all people expected to die from the radiation effects of the atomic bomb had by then already died; accordingly, no further cases of physiological effects due to residual radiation would be acknowledged.[217]

[217] Ōe, *Hiroshima Notes*, 66-67.

On top of this, the tendency of atomic bomb survivors to self-censor or silence their own experience is consistently documented in the Occupation era by psychologists and journalists, both Japanese and foreign. The omission of the specific survivor experiences from official media could only have served to intensify the feeling of *hibakusha* that they were suddenly and confusingly excised from a community that had—only a short time before—been composed of "one hundred million hearts beating as one."[218]

This example of prewar and wartime rhetoric—Japan not as a nation of individuals but as a "family," as one enormous organism with the same thoughts, the same emotions, the same conviction behind its imperialist aggression and wartime action—may have quickly been dismissed in the Occupation era as military propaganda, but it was by no means an end to the problem that the prewar and wartime Japanese society had built itself into a fortress of supposed solidarity. The community of atomic bomb survivors found themselves in a postwar environment that supposedly promoted democracy and free speech, but in reality was composed of a censoring government and a community of fellow Japanese who were deeply afraid of radiation poisoning, keloid scars, and the unmitigated, painful difference that the survivors represented.

A Japanese history professor and *hibakusha* reported to Robert Jay Lifton in the 1960s that:

> As a historian I know that the Japanese had never experienced a Renaissance. There had never in Japan been a liberation of the individual. […] If you have never had experience with the Japanese military, this might be difficult to understand—but the limits were external, not internal. […] People never had a chance to be individuals, but were beaten down by power from above."[219]

And because of the lack of publicly disseminated information about what radiation sickness precisely was, whether it was contagious, and how to effectively treat it, there was also

[218] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 59.

[219] Lifton, *Death in Life*, 359.

a widespread suspicion and fear directed at *hibakusha*, resulting in overt discrimination, primarily in occupations and in marriage. For the purposes of avoiding this discrimination from their community, many of the survivors hid their pasts from co-workers, potential employers, and even from family members and friends. A Nihon Hidankyō (The Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organization) survey conducted in 1985-1986 asked *hibakusha* a variety of questions concerning how they had presented themselves in the intervening years after the dropping of the bomb. Some 30 percent of those surveyed reported that they had hidden their identity as *hibakusha* in a previous marriage, 24 percent worried about finding a job because of their association with the bomb, 24 percent actively lied about or hid being a *hibakusha* to avoid discrimination, and 10 percent said they experienced actual discrimination because of being a survivor.[220]

The way in which in the Japanese did communicate about the atomic bomb—both because of top-down censorship and bottom-up social norms—demonstrates a complex and at times paradoxical relationship to the notions of culpability and enemy in a postwar environment. In Occupation-era Japan, the enemy could be the atomic bomb, but not the Americans. In the political and cultural discourse surrounding the bomb, the most troubling aspects of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (generally, civilian death and the moral quandary of using atomic weapons at all) were excised from the equation of history, leaving a razor-thin linear trajectory as the only place appropriate for the atomic bomb to be understood publicly within Japan. The bomb could only exist in social consciousness as an event disconnected from the wartime past, except when it was heralded as a bittersweet end to the war.

[220] Braw, Monica. "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence," in Hein, Laura Elizabeth, and Mark Selden, eds. *Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 161.

Dower notes that at the moment when Emperor Hirohito's voice intoning Japan's surrender was broadcast over the radio on August 15, 1945, the reactions from ordinary civilians "reflected a multitude of sentiments apart from emperor-centered grief: anguish, regret, bereavement, anger at having been deceived, sudden emptiness and loss of purpose – or simple joy at the unexpected surcease of misery and death."[221] After years of rationing, starvation, mobilized work forces, loss of property to repeated bombings and loss of loved ones to overseas fighting, Dower argues that the words of surrender actually breathed hope back into many Japanese civilians; the possibility of an end to hardship and suffering actually had credence, even in the midst of so much recent destruction.

Likewise, the dropping of the atomic bomb could be integral to the present and future of Occupation-era Japan only if it acted as a springboard for the relatively nascent peace activism that was so firmly connected to the new postwar constitution of Japan, including the hallowed Article 9 (a formalized renunciation of war, and the prescription against Japan to ever again creating and mobilizing a military force). In the late 1950s and early 1960s—spurred in part by continued American nuclear testing—this mentality would morph into a much more aggressive anti-nuclear activism. But at the inception and early days of the Occupation the slogan of "No More Hiroshimas" had not yet been born, and the atomic bomb existed as an Occupation-approved symbol of pacifism only so long as it did not raise questions of morality or culpability, and predominantly because it allowed the citizenry to be brought more firmly under MacArthur's banner of "democratization and demilitarization." A survey conducted just three months after Japanese surrender by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey found that, of roughly 5,000 Japanese civilians and ex-military personnel questioned, only 19 percent of Hiroshima and Nagasaki residents expressed any resentment or anger toward Americans for the dropping of the

[221] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 38

atomic bomb (12 percent for all of Japan). Further, "35 percent of respondents replied that it was Japan's fault; another 29 percent said that neither side was responsible, believing it to be a consequence of war."[222]

In many ways, the enemy in immediate postwar Japan instead became the most visible and enduring reminder of Japan's military past: the atomic bomb survivor's body. For being a symbol of American retaliation against Japanese aggression, for requiring treatment, for complicating the narrative of the atomic bomb with questions of morality, for existing as a physical reminder of this troubling and confusing conflation of sorrow, death, illness, relief, and war, the specific injuries and illnesses caused by and related to the atomic bomb became an intensely troubled element of the atomic bomb discourse in Occupation-era Japan. Certainly, a general reluctance to relive experiences of pain and suffering, coupled with stringent Occupation censorship had a profound effect on whether or not images, literature, film, or other forms of cultural production of or about atomic bomb victims were deemed an acceptable part of the social discourse. But the same fear of the publicly visible and injured body was also apparent in the conduct and more limited political presence of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC).

A scientific institution originally commissioned and funded by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in the United States, the ABCC was charged with conducting a "detailed and

[222] Asada Sadao. "The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches: Japanese and American Perceptions of the Atomic-Bomb Decision, 1945-1995," in Hein, *Living With the Bomb*, 174. Not the most unbiased source, the USSBS was established during WWII "for the purpose of conducting an impartial and expert study of the effects of our aerial attack on Germany, to be used in connection with air attacks on Japan and to establish a basis for evaluating air power as an instrument of military strategy, for planning the future development of the United States armed forces, and for determining future economic policies with respect to the national defense." United States Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS). *Summary Report (Pacific War)* (United States Government: Washington, DC., July 1, 1946, iii). Asada notes that the report itself considered the possibility that the survey was probably an underestimation of true antagonism towards the United States.

long-range study of the biological and medical effects [of the atomic bomb] upon the human being."[223] Through studies of atomic bomb survivors, their bodies, their illnesses, their offspring, and often their autopsies, the ABCC understood its unique position as the only research organization to have a hand in collecting and interpreting information about the effect of an atomic weapon on a living human population. The first incarnation of this long-term scientific study in the first year of the Occupation was known as the Joint Commission, and after a brief ten-month interlude in 1946 when no scientific research was conducted by either Japanese or American scientists, the AEC-funded ABCC was officially commissioned by President Truman in 1947.

Despite its financial and political connections to the American government and military, the ABCC was composed of both Japanese and American scientists and medical professionals. And yet, these scientists operated in a middle ground between civilians and government, with often-unclear relations to both. Japanese staff performed the bulk of implementation, in the form of surveys and primary studies, while the Japanese and American scientists worked together to interpret the results. However, as sociologist Susan Lindee notes, "the ABCC conformed to Occupation policies, and its research concerned a topic of military interest and was thus subject to SCAP censorship. [...] The fine institutional distinctions between the ABCC as a 'scientific' agency organized by the National Academy of Sciences and funded by the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Occupation bureaucracy as a military power, were often lost in the day-to-day interactions of Americans and Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."[224] This confusion often contributed to cultural tensions within the ABCC itself, but more importantly, the obtuse and

[223] Susan M. Lindee. *Suffering Made Real: American Science and the Survivors at Hiroshima* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 36.

[224] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 47.

unarticulated relation between SCAP and the ABCC did very little to quell extreme rumors about radiation sickness among civilians, and often made atomic bomb survivors feel more and more like undesirable anomalies within their own rapidly shifting society.

Early contentions within the ABCC were often related to publication credits: although many of the results of ABCC studies were never seen in Japan during the first four years of the Occupation, Japanese scientists regularly expressed dismay that their American colleagues on multiple occasions seemed to have appropriated Japanese contributions to reports without proper credit. "I gave some of my material to American research workers," wrote ABCC physician Amano Shigeyasu, in 1959, "but I have never been shown any material collected by the ABCC. Despite the fact that the ABCC is a research organization located in Japan, using Japanese people as autopsy material, it does not allow us to see a single histological specimen."[225] This concern was also documented on the American side, but for completely oppositional reasons: an American ABCC doctor stationed in Nagasaki noted in 1954 that "just the thought of what the Japanese would do if they had free unrestrained use of our data and what they might publish under the imprimatur of the ABCC gives me nightmares."[226]

Most members of the ABCC were not so overtly biased; many saw the institution's presence in Japan as an opportunity to foster real scientific understanding of a vital contemporary issue on supposedly neutral terms. Writes Lindee, the ABCC portrayed their scientific work as taking place in a neutral zone:

> [In] an open space within which the divisions of war, culture, and gender dissolved. [The American scientists] reported that meeting with Japanese physicians began tensely but ended in a spirit of

[225] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 46.

[226] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 45. The American physician quoted was not concerned about scientific or military espionage, but rather a perceived lack of proper experimental training according to American orthodoxy.

> warm cooperation, that Japanese midwives were at first indifferent or hostile but then saw the value of the American work and pledged to help, that leading Japanese scientists were at first suspicious of American motives but later became enthusiastic. *Through such accounts, they constructed the ABCC as the equivalent of a demilitarized zone—a forum in which the war did not exist or did not matter* [emphasis added].[227]

While this may have been the appropriate stance from the standpoint of scientific research methodology, the desire to have the ABCC operate in an ahistorical, culturally nonspecific environment was significantly problematic; the willful denial of the recent historical and contemporary psycho-social contexts for the ABCC's scientific studies would in fact create more long-term problems for itself and its legacy. Of course the war had happened. It mattered—it underpinned all physical and psychological traumas carried by the survivors, and the dropping of the atomic bomb on a civilian population was the very reason that the American scientists were there at all. To have the validity of this experience refused—implicitly or otherwise—creates a temporal paradox within the very nexus of information about Japan's post-atomic reality: in effect, "in order to best study this thing that has happened, we must not acknowledge the conditions in which this thing happened in the first place." A subtle and deft denial of history, to further the future of science.

The ABCC's compulsion to separate itself from the political reality of the Pacific War and the dropping of the atomic bomb often ran aground in situations where Occupation policy of democratization and censorship had to be privileged over the desired ideals of collaboration and neutrality. One Western biologist (not connected with the Commission) delicately described the ABCC's position as if one were conducting a "joint Roman-Jewish study of the physiological

[227] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 40.

effects of crucifixion at the time of Christ's death."[228] And as difficult as it may have been for the ABCC to navigate its supposed neutrality and uncompromised scientific goals with the overarching policies of the Occupation and the AEC, the survivors themselves found it nearly impossible to separate the ABCC from those who had dropped the bomb. When survivors taking part in the ABCC's studies began to realize—quite early on in the life of the ABCC—that the ABCC was to provide little-to-no actual medical treatment for the radiation poisoning, scars, cancers, and birth anomalies that they were studying, the feeling of distrust and confusion only deepened. The official Japanese-run Atomic Bomb Hospital in Hiroshima was not opened until 1956, and legislation providing medical benefits for atomic bomb survivors did not pass through the Japanese National Diet until 1957, long after the Allies had abandoned their role as occupiers.[229] In the immediate postwar years most Japanese civilians saw the ABCC as a possible medical safe-haven, only to be deeply disappointed and betrayed when they felt more like "guinea pigs" and experimental subjects than patients and human beings.[230]

This issue was compounded not only by the no-treatment policy, cultural differences, and language issues, but also by instances where the ABCC did also very little to counteract public

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[228] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 40-41.

[229] The National Diet is Japan's bicameral legislative body, often referred to simple as "the Diet."

[230] Lifton, *Death in Life*, 145, 234-235. Monica Braw also recounts how this mistrust of the ABCC was articulated in the Japanese media and cultural output as early as the 1950s, especially as American censorship on the Occupation and the atomic bomb weakened after 1949. Kajiyama Toshiyuki's 1954 *Jikken Toshi* [*Experimental City*], published the same year as the infamous *Lucky Dragon* incident where Japanese fishermen were poisoned by radiation created during American bombing tests in the Bikini Atoll, has the fictionalized director of the ABCC say that: "We have in our hands a new field of medicine, and we will cultivate this field. Our task is great. At home our people are trying to produce new medicines for treatment, by making use of guinea pigs. And that is being done upon the basis of my findings. Our materials. Other than these, there are no effective weapons. [...] We are right. What else could this be if no humanism? The injured are injured. A historical necessity. Neither Stalin or Christ, not even Hirohito can change that. [...] We are making a contribution to mankind for tomorrow. We are right." (Braw, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki," in Hein, *Living With the Bomb*, 159.)

misconceptions about its purpose and its role in the scientific community. While the ABCC was early on able to collaborate with the community of Japanese midwives to help register and track pregnant women and their new babies within the affected cities, the pamphlet "To All Prospective Mothers" distributed upon registration, "opened with the presumption that the pregnant woman was 'familiar with the research project of the ABCC.' If the woman was not familiar with the ABCC and its research, she would not be enlightened by the text itself, which did not state that the study was an effort to track the genetic effects of radiation from the atomic bombs."[231] Furthermore, the team of Japanese midwives working with the researchers at the ABCC came to understand the delicacy of their role as intermediaries between survivors and largely foreign medical personnel. As Lindee notes, they would therefore sometimes make choices in the service of protecting the privacy and complex feelings of the new mothers, especially if there had been a miscarriage, stillbirth, or deformity, choices that not only had the potential to undermine the substance of the ABCC research, but also served to further the distance between survivors and the medical research being performed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. If there were serious complications during a monitored pregnancy:

> [The] midwife reporting a major malformation to the ABCC team knew that this report would provoke a more detailed investigation. An ABCC team would come to visit the family and would request information to complete 'a long form' questionnaire. Reporting a stillbirth or neonatal death would also provoke an ABCC request for an autopsy. The midwife, then, in reporting an abnormality, stillbirth, or neonatal death, was adding to the family's stress by attracting the attention of the ABCC.[232]

A long enough delay in the reporting of such a case could, in the eyes of the midwives, save the suffering family from further intrusion and grief. But it would also render the autopsy

[231] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 86.

[232] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 92

impossible, and deepen the sense that the research being done at the ABCC was at best not in the survivors' interests, and at worst something that needed to be deliberately circumvented.

This feeling that the ABCC existed only to take information—and even physical specimens—from the survivors' bodies, but not give anything back to them persisted even beyond death. One young woman spoke to Lifton about the ABCC's involvement with her family after the death of her father, who had been a Hiroshima survivor:

> On the day of the funeral, a jeep from the ABCC came and asked us if they could dissect the body. They said it would be for the good of society as a whole, and that surely Father would not have been opposed to it. Now what are they trying to take from the corpse of my father? They have dropped the atomic bomb which filled my father's later life with agony and caused him to work until his body was completely ruined—still what have they come here for, and what do they expect from my father's body? Even if my father's body might help the work of the ABCC by adding a small line on a graph, what good would that do society? Based upon my father's body, would they make further discoveries for bigger atomic and hydrogen bombs?[233]

Lindee argues that the ABCC's no-treatment policy was less grounded in the actual need for a certain kind of medical and research practice, but rather the result of the "larger international debate over the legitimacy and morality of the American use of the new weapon in 1945. The United States would not apologize or atone for the use of atomic weapons in Japan, and therefore it would not repair the bodies that had been marked by the bombs' blast or radiation."[234] However, in actual practice, the differentiation between treatment and diagnosis was fuzzy, and the ABCC staff did provide occasional forms of overt treatment to survivors, or refused to report on other staff members who did so.[235]

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[233] Lifton, *Death in Life*, 346.

[234] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 118.

[235] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 128.

In 1954, after the official end to the Allied Occupation, the debate over the no-treatment policy came to a head again in a very public fashion, when nuclear fallout from the American Bravo test in the Bikini Atoll directly contaminated the Japanese fishing vessel *Daigo Fukuryū Maru* (*The Lucky Dragon*) and the 23 fisherman on board. The fervor in the Japanese press reached a fever pitch when the director of the ABCC offered to provide medical treatment to the poisoned fishermen at the facilities in Hiroshima, prompting theories that this was either evidence of some strange double standard, or evidence that this was merely a ploy to gain access to the men to study the effects of this newest form of the weapon. Talk of the bodies of Japanese atomic bomb survivors as merely "guinea pigs" for American medical research was yet again renewed.[236]

In the first years of the Occupation, the social and scientific treatments of the survivors and their injuries (both visible and invisible) were deeply intertwined with the tenuous political and social reality of postwar society. Japanese and Americans alike viewed the bodies of *hibakusha* as the site of the dangerous, the unknown, and understood access to those bodies as having the potential for political power via a monopoly on scientific knowledge. Their blood, skin, bones, and fetuses held scientific secrets that were deeply desired by the United States in the burgeoning years of the Cold War, at a time when any and all information about atomic power and weaponry was at premium. But the survivors and their bodies were also reminders of a military action that—even as early as the autumn of 1945—journalists and intellectuals were questioning as appropriate or ethical.[237] Their bodies potentially threatened American hegemony

[236] Lindee, *Suffering Made Real*, 125.

[237] For some of the earliest English-language journalistic accounts of Hiroshima/Nagasaki, the atomic bomb, and radiation sickness, see: Wilfred Burchett, *Shadows of Hiroshima* (London: Verso Books, 1983); George Weller's censored dispatches in Weller, *First into Nagasaki: The Censored Eyewitness Dispatches on Post-Atomic Japan and Its Prisoners of War* (New York: Crown/Archetype, 2006); and

even as their cooperation as citizens was vitally needed to support it. At any moment, if misinterpreted, if mistreated, if coddled, or even if given too much publicity or exposure, the injured bodies of the atomic bomb survivors could ignite a debate that would greatly call into question America's political, military, and scientific dominance.

Yoshikuni Igarashi argues that even in the midst of the growing economic prosperity of 1950s and 1960s Japan, Japanese bodies were "central site for remembering. [...] As the social conditions that supported Japanese bodies drastically changed, new sets of bodily images became necessary; as a result, the body remained a site for cultural signification."[238] While the bodies of atomic bomb survivors made up a small but significant portion of the postwar Japanese citizenry, Igarashi's study is more wide-ranging and comprehensive, encompassing wartime regulation of the obedient imperial body, postwar film, literature, the anti-Security Treaty protests of the early 1960s, and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, all pointing to the way in which narratives of loss in postwar Japan were only acceptable insofar as they could be recuperated into narratives of postwar Japanese peace and progress.[239] The postwar Japanese embodied individual was not necessarily denied his or her status *as* body, or even damaged body, in some cases, argues Igarashi. Instead, "the body as a site of historical reconstruction [was] discursively transformed in postwar Japanese history. Scars on the cleansed surface of the 'body' were rendered

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John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). Burchett was roundly criticized for his first dispatches about the atomic bomb, entitled "The Atomic Plague," and published in the *Daily Express* in early September, 1945. He was publicly scolded and even brought before the deputy head of the Manhattan project to explain himself. "The main point [of this]," writes Braw, "was to refute Burchett's charges that people in Hiroshima were dying from radiation effects." See: Braw, Monica. *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe Inc, 1991), 91.

[238] Igarashi, Yoshikuni. *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 17.

[239] For more on the role of these two major events in 1960s Japanese history within Kawada's photobook, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

decipherable; they became the symbols of the past struggle that paved the way for Japan's postwar economic success."[240] Bodies that did not accurately reflect this, that were not appropriately inscribed with the "right" kind of suffering or could not be recast into the appropriate interpretations, were summarily disregarded, and even considered to be a threat to democratization.[241]

Igarashi's assertion about the role of specifically legible bodies is further supported by Ran Zwigenberg's recent book-length study of Hiroshima's postwar factionalist history. Zwigenberg documents the creation of the victim-hero trope of the *hibakusha*, a necessarily apolitical individual figure, except for the anti-nuclear proliferation and pro-peace movements that became synonymous with postwar Hiroshima. The victim-hero trope identified by Zwigenberg was an integral part of the eventual form of "commemorating the bomb primarily not in terms of grief and loss, but, instead, emphasizing transformation, rebirth, and, ultimately, progress."[242] Hiroshima's factionalism often left survivors actions and desires torn between left- and right-wing political groups, or between survivor support and advocacy networks like the Gensuikyō (The Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs) and the Hidankyō (Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organization). As Zwigenberg argues, leftwing appropriation of the *hibakusha* survivor narrative in particular made it difficult for actual survivors to request compensation from the government, even after the end of the Allied Occupation:

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[240] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 168-169.

[241] In particular, see Igarashi's section on the Allied programs of cleanliness, such as the use of DDT, in his second chapter, "The Age of the Body," in *Bodies of Memory*, 47-72.

[242] Zwigenberg, Ran. *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture*. Reprint edition. Cambridge University Press, 2016, 24.

> [*Hibakusha*] efforts for medical and financial relief were continuously blocked by conservatives who saw any bomb-related matter as a leftist ploy. The USA was still sensitive about Hiroshima and the government could not afford to alienate its closest ally. Furthermore, although the conservative government awarded veterans with pensions in 1953, they saw any compensation to civilian victims as a dangerous opening, which could pave the way for claims by the millions of Japanese victims of the fire bombings. The *hibakusha*, like other groups who were vying for compensation at the time (and like the city of Hiroshima before them), had to position themselves as unique national (and non-leftist) victims, separate from other war victims, and thus deserving of compensation from the national government. The creation of the unique trope of the victim was a direct result of this maneuver and the parallel development of the anti-bomb movement in Japan and worldwide. Thus, the needs of the peace movement were perfectly aligned with many survivors' emotional needs as well as with the transformation narrative.[243]

In distancing themselves from political affiliation (whether they had or had not been particularly political before or during the war), Zwigenberg argues that the unique suffering of the *hibakusha* took on a "messianic" quality for the anti-nuclear-proliferation and peace movements and its affiliated groups.[244] The bodily and psychological suffering of the *hibakusha* served as a kind of global warning siren and "moral witness," where the victim-hero "directed her anger into activism, and who not only refrained from challenging existing structures of power of knowledge, but actually supported them."[245]

Even as one of the *hibakusha*'s most sympathetic advocates, Ōe Kenzaburō could not help but echo an extrapolation of this sentiment, casting the city as a kind of future-oriented environmental horror—where the reality of the effects of radiation transformed the landscape of Hiroshima into a harbinger of potential global apocalypse. In one of his last dispatches from

[243] Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima,* 73.

[244] Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima,* 93.

[245] *Ibid.*

Hiroshima, he reflects on the several years he has spent reporting on the complex intersections of memory, politics, and medical reality of the city. "Five years ago," he writes, "when I visited Hiroshima for the first time, I wrote about how much my heart shuddered as I looked at deformed specimens of *Veronica persica Poir* and chickenweed:

> [...] Of all the eschatologies offered by science fiction, the most terrible is a final demise caused by the transformation of natural human blood and cells—and thus of human beings as such—into something grotesque and inhuman [...] When radioactivity destroys human cells and alters human genes, any living beings of the future would be no longer human but something grotesquely different. This scenario of the world's end is the most dreadful and sinister yet.[246]

Even as he attempted in his essays to shine a compassionate light on the plight of the atomic bomb survivors, to illuminate the various political and social structures that had relegated them to spaces of fear, secrecy, and misinformation, in his conclusion Ōe still harbors a sense that there is something terrifyingly sublime contained within the changed cellular structure of the city of Hiroshima and its inhabitants. The survivors themselves are not culpable in this potential apocalypse, not for Ōe, but he still cannot seem to shake the sense that something evil and unknowable lurks inside them. And although he has taken great pains to render clear the more confusing and complicated aspects of the reality of post-atomic Japan, and specifically the reality for the atomic bomb survivor, in the end it is precisely the deformity of their interiors, the potentially warped and illegible code of their genetic structure, which poses the greatest threat.

The way in which the ABCC, discourses of the body, and narratives of the past in postwar Japan resolve inside Kawada's *Chizu* is, I argue, precisely through this lens of legibility,

[246] Ōe, *Hiroshima Notes,* 182. Lindee notes that "One goal of the ABCC genetics study was to reassure the public that radiation from the bombs had not produced a generation of genetic monsters. Participants [in the study] did not genuinely expect 'Godzilla,' [...] the larger public, however, apparently did, and the scientific community could not entirely, unequivocally rule out such a possibility, given the available experimental evidence from laboratory organisms." Lindee, *Suffering Made Real,* 60.

or lack thereof. The photographs categorized in the photobook's second theme of "memorial goods"—military relics, atomic bomb-damaged objects, the keloid scar, the clump of irradiated hair—are all representations of highly complex and often contradictory narratives of remembering and forgetting in postwar Japan. As metonyms for these different narratives, the objects in the photographs become deeply symbolic nodes in Kawada's temporal network: standing in for deferred grief, for shifting notions of survivorhood, for a stifled national mourning and national repentance. And yet, it is not only the subjects of the photographs that serve this symbolic function. Even more significant is the manner in which Kawada photographs them, manipulates them, and organizes them within the photobook.

The extreme overall lack of visual clarity is perhaps the most significant. Whether it is the obfuscated text from the last wills of the members of the Special Attack Corps, the confusing smear of light across the glass of a museum vitrine, the doubled reflection of the Atomic Bomb Dome in the water of the Ōta River, or the surreal slippage of the form of a keloid scar, none of the *kinenbutsu* photographs communicate their content directly to the viewer. They hang suspended in liminal visual space, constantly and imperceptibly resolving into moments of comprehension and then dissolving back into abstraction. They are meant to be fundamentally unstable and only ever half-legible. Even more poignantly, their illegibility is equivalent. The smeared and overexposed calligraphy of the *Tokkōtai* pilots has the same clouded quality as the atomic bombs relics. Their instability as images and illegibility as narrative representations may result from truncated composition, lack of context, double-exposure, angle of shot, quality of print, or any combination of these deliberate techniques. But by visually relating them, by consciously forcing these images together within the pages of *Chizu*, Kawada is arguing subtly that these are two postwar narratives of the past that have been manipulated into

oversimplification, and kept at an overdetermined distance from one another. The unstable images and illegible inscriptions in *Chizu* echo the lack of meaning given to *hibakusha* about the violent inscriptions within and upon their own bodies, and they reflect back at the postwar Japanese reader a sense of confusion and about how to mourn, celebrate, or remember their own war dead.

In order to fully grasp why this particular set of artistic choices manifests as such a singular gesture in the context of 1960s Japan, it is critical that *Chizu* be contextualized alongside other photobook publications of the period that also sought to represent some part of the reality of post-atomic Japan. In particular, the photobooks by Domon Ken and Tōmatsu Shōmei on the subject of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which chronologically bookend *Chizu*, offer a comparative framework that illuminates the specifics of Kawada's refusal of early postwar photographic realism, and the significance of his unique approach to the medium in relation to his VIVO-era contemporaries.

3.4 Comparative Frameworks

Kawada Kikuji's first visit to Hiroshima was as an assistant to Domon Ken, who was at the time completing the project that would eventually become his 1958 photobook, *Hiroshima*. While Kawada snuck into the belly of the Atomic Bomb Dome and ran his hands over the flaking surface of the walls, Domon was engaged in a very different kind of looking, compelled by a sense of duty to record with his camera the stark reality of the lives of the *hibakusha* in Hiroshima. "July 23, 1957, at 2:40pm," he wrote:

> The express train arrived at Aki [former name of Hiroshima prefecture], and for the first time since my birth, I set foot on the soil of Hiroshima. *Shūkan Shinchō*, the illustrated magazine, had asked me to go and take photographs. I was going as an occupational photographer, so to speak, like photography were a "trade" [*shōbai*]. [...] However, soon after I arrived, as a human being with my camera in hand I was impelled forward, somehow, with a sense of purpose. [...] I then went about Hiroshima as if possessed [...] that day has therefore become a day that is very hard to forget.[247]

This period of time was also marked for Domon by the sense that the movement of "realism" in Japanese photography had reached an impasse, and thus was required to adapt into a so-called "second phase" of realism.[248] While still maintaining the basic and most core elements of photographic realism—the "absolutely unstaged snapshot," the objectivity of the camera—Domon suggested that this new phase should also embrace a "deeper and more beautiful aesthetic."[249] His *Hiroshima*, one of the very first full-length photographic documentations of the

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[247] Yoshimura Shinya. "*Hiroshima—Domon Ken*," in *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū* (*Research on the Masterpieces of Modern Photography*) (Tokyo: Shashin hyōronsha, 1970), 149-158, 152.

[248] Fukushima Tatsuo. *Fukushima Tatsuo shashin hyōronshū: Vol. 2, 10nin no me, VIVO jidai* (*Collected Criticism from Fukushima Tatsuo: Vol 2, The Eyes of Ten and the VIVO Era*) (Tokyo: Madosha, 2011), 18. For more on Domon's photographic realism, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

[249] Feltens, Frank. "Constructing Collective Victims: Domon Ken and Tōmatsu Shōmei, Two Japanese Photographers," *Modern Art Asia*, 2 (2010): 26–44, 27.

post-atomic reality of Japan, and from the generational father of postwar Japanese photography, thus combines, as some have put it, "the emotionality from Romanticism," and "the art theory of Neue Sachlichkeit (which, of course, the school of Domon Ken fundamentally altered.)"[250]

The completed photobook opens with a single statement, in both Japanese and English: "The collection of photographs is a record of the scars left in the wake of the atomic bomb exploded on the city of Hiroshima at an altitude of 570 meters at 8:15 a.m., Aug. 6, 1945."[251] It is at its core a combination of several distinct photo essays, each tracking some element of the everyday lives of Hiroshima's atomic bomb survivors through different spaces—hospitals, medical and scientific research sites, educational and religious institutions devoted to the care of *hibakusha* children, cemeteries, home life—all photographed with an intense devotion to representing the way in which the *hibakusha* themselves exist within and experience these spaces. The photographs encompass graphic surgeries and post-surgical healing at the newly opened Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Hospital, mealtime and leisure at the Six Directions School, families at home and visiting the graves of loved ones, as well as a coda of institutional memory sites: the cenotaph at the Peace Memorial Park, the interiors of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

The first lengthy set of photographs in the book document a surgical skin graft taking place in the Atomic Bomb Hospital (Figures 55-56). The images are unflinching, graphic and stark, utilizing none of the aestheticism that Domon claimed could characterize a second phase of realist photography. Instead, there is a quality of direct documentary about them, tracking the entirety of one surgery from start to finish in a total of 22 individual photographs, focusing tightly on the area of incision, on the doctor's gloved hands, on the exposed internality of the body and the shining metal instruments. If not for the context of the photobook as a whole, these

[250] Yoshimura, "*Hiroshima—Domon Ken*," 157.

[251] Domon Ken, *Hiroshima* (Tokyo: Kenkōsha, 1958), 4-5.

surgical photographs feel as though they could be found in a medical textbook, their directness and steely visual candor almost instructional.

For Domon, this reliance on an exaggerated version of his first-phase realism is required for this particular set of images. The surgery is an intensely private moment in the life of one *hibakusha*,[252] an element of her visceral life that would not, in 1958, have been well-understood or deeply considered by most Japanese citizens in such stark visual terms. By thrusting the viewer into the reality of Hiroshima via these graphic and challenging images, Domon is setting the stage for what Yoshimura Shinya has described as a kind of "violent persuasion,"[253] to shock the viewer via realism's so-called "objectivity" into a space of psychological and emotional empathy with the survivors. A review in the June 1958 issue of *Photoart* claimed that not only was this the point of Domon's *Hiroshima*, but indeed also the only appropriate way to feel about Hiroshima as a whole: "In order to gaze at the reality of living in Hiroshima, isn't this psychological burden the unavoidable cost that we must naturally pay?"[254]

If the first images in *Hiroshima* force the viewer into a state of unpleasant psychological realization, the following photographs commit to establishing an oscillation of sameness and difference between the viewer and the atomic bomb survivors of Hiroshima. Domon's realist photography here is mobilized toward the sympathetic-yet-objective portrait of human beings, capturing blind children at the Hiroshima Meisei Garden, the little boy Kenji-kun in life and after death, and the Otani family, once gravely ill but now hoisting their healthy infant daughter, Hiromi, into the air (Figures 57). The empty white of the blind children's eyes contrast sharply with the gentle normalcy of the settings and of their everyday activities. There is a gnarled scar

[252] The text in the photobook identifies that this particular survivor is a 33-year-old woman.

[253] Yoshimura, "*Hiroshima—Domon Ken*," 152.

[254] Yoshimura, "*Hiroshima—Domon Ken*," 153.

on Mr Otani's right cheek and nose, but he is laughing in uproarious joy. In the corridors of the Atomic Bomb Hospital there are deep and isolating shadows, but there are also strings of little folded paper cranes, swaying gently in the breeze where they hang by the window. Domon's "sense of purpose" once arriving in Hiroshima is here played out as a kind of obsessive documentation of both the banal simplicity and horrifying ruptures taking place in the lives of the survivors: the viewer can simultaneously empathize and identify, but also feel profound sympathy and dislocation.

The title of the photobook, *Hiroshima*, is in Japanese rendered in the *katakana* syllabary—ヒロシマ—the system used most often for foreign loan-words and phrases. This particular rendering was in the 1950s most commonly associated with the anti-nuclear and peace movements that were erupting in the city. As Lisa Yoneyama notes, "one of its original uses was to transliterate the English slogan 'No more Hiroshimas.'"[255] The use of *katakana*, she argues, was both a gesture toward the growing sense that postwar Hiroshima was not only a physical location but now also an abstracted symbol, and a symbol fundamentally alienated. While Domon clearly recognizes the special symbolic status of the city of Hiroshima, as evidenced by his use of *katakana* for the title, his goal in the photobook *Hiroshima* was clearly not to overindulge this form of collective, abstracted significance. Instead, there is a forceful didacticism in his realist approach: Hiroshima is not only a symbol, but it is also and more importantly a city in which these people live embodied and emotional lives, in pain and also in joy.

[255] Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 48-49. Frank Feltens also briefly analyzes the symbolic quality of the *katakana* title in Feltens, *Constructing Collective Victims,* 28.

Yoshimura Shinya recalls the young Tōmatsu Shōmei responding to Domon's photographs for *Hiroshima* by quoting the famous dialogic exchange between the characters of Elle and Lui from Alain Resnais' 1959 film *Hiroshima Mon Amor* (*Hiroshima, My Love*, in English and *Nijūyojikan no jōji* / *24-Hour Affair* in Japanese): "I saw everything in Hiroshima / No, you saw nothing in Hiroshima."[256] The refrain hinges on perilous uncertainty, on the oscillation between presence and absence. And whatever apocryphal urges Yoshimura might be indulging in with this narrative, it is clear from other sources too that Tōmatsu was deeply affected by Domon's work in Hiroshima, and yet still was plagued by a sense that something in the photographic documentation of post-atomic Japan was lacking.

The critic and close VIVO confidant Fukushima Tatsuo recounts an evening in 1961 after Tōmatsu's first trip to Nagasaki, whereupon after inviting Tōmatsu for a friendly drink on the Sumida river, he found Tōmatsu unable to stop talking about the problematic relationship between the post-atomic city and photography. At one point in the evening, Tōmatsu turned to Fukushima and said:

> Now, I wonder what it means to take atomic bomb photography. Yamahata Yosuke's photographs of Nagasaki, you could call them photographs of injury, of damage. Domon Ken's *Hiroshima*, if you boil it down, is photographs of surgical procedures, or trying to take a photo of something in the scene of a surgical procedure for keloid scars. Other than this, what does it mean to take photographs of the atomic bomb?[257]

Tōmatsu is here referring to the photojournalist and military photographer Yamahata Yosuke, who spent 12 hours in Nagasaki the day after the second atomic bomb was dropped on Japan. Of all the photographers who were in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August and September of 1945, Yamahata's contribution to the extant photographic record of the atomic bomb's

[256] Yoshimura, "*Hiroshima—Domon Ken*," 157.

[257] Fukushima, *Fukushima Tatsuo shashin hyōronshū: Vol. 2*, 35.

immediate aftermath remains one of the most complete and significant collections of images. Over the course of one day in Nagasaki, he took more than 150 exposures of flattened buildings, fires, informal medical stations, bodies, injured people, shattered churches, and then—while other photographers, military and civilian alike, were forced to hand over their prints and contact sheets to the American forces—Yamahata managed to keep the negatives intact and under the radar until the end of the American Occupation in 1952. His photographs were some of the very few to be published in national newspapers like the *Asahi* and *Mainichi Shimbun* in 1945 before Occupation censorship took hold, and they would also come to form a significant contribution to the watershed illustrated publication of the *Asahi Graph* in August of 1952, one of the only major Japanese media outlets to publish the more graphic and politically contentious photographs of atomic bomb survivors and their injured bodies in the first postwar decade.

Tōmatsu's own attempt to answer this question—"what does it mean to take photographs of the atomic bomb?"—would take the form of his 1966 photobook *11:02 Nagasaki*, composed of 112 photographs of atomic relics, *hibakusha*, and the landscapes of Nagasaki combined with interviews from survivors. Seventy-one of the photographs from *11:02 Nagasaki* would first be published along with nearly two dozen selections from Domon's *Hiroshima*, to form their collaborative *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961*, an overtly anti-nuclear ideological publication funded by the Gensuikyō (Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs), and intended for an international audience.[258]

Tōmatsu's photographs in *11:02 Nagasaki* and *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* have, as Iizawa Kōtarō points out, an "explicit focus on the relationship between people and society," in Nagasaki, a "documentary" approach where the camera and the photographer are

[258] A series of Tōmatsu's photographs from Nagasaki would also be published in *Photoart* magazine from August-October of 1962.

explicit components of those relationships.[259] In the now-famous image of the *hibakusha* Kataoka Tsuyo (Figure 58), the woman squints out from the photograph, the composition cropping her closely at the bottom of her chin and just below the top of her head. Her expression, directed at us but also first at Tōmatsu and his camera, is vaguely suspicious, tentative, as if she is uncertain what we make of her, or what Tōmatsu intends to make of her likeness. Her mouth is a little crescent of black shadow; the scars on her right cheek and across her chin are heavy, like plaster. They mirror the wrinkles in her forehead, as she pulls her eyebrows together in that arresting, questing expression. Unlike Domon's photographs of the *hibakusha* in Hiroshima, who are either captured as unaware of—or untroubled by—the presence of the camera, Tōmatsu's presence here is an integral part of the power of the image. There is contained within it a layered exchange of glances that enfold us as contemporary viewers into the past, and make us culpable too, in Ms Kataoka's apparent and tenuous mistrust.

Tōmatsu's photographs of atomic relics introduce an element of surreality and textural materiality to both *11:02 Nagasaki* and *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961*. Similar in many formal ways to Kawada's own atomic relics in the *kinenbutsu* section of *Chizu*, Tōmatsu's images of a warped bottle, a damaged bowl, scarred bamboo, and the decapitated heads of stone angels and Christian statuary from Urakami Cathedral (Figures 59-61) have Kawada's same attention to textural detail, the same interest in the vaguely monstrous forms of these objects, the same ability to let their scarred, deformed surfaces speak to the sublime terror of the atomic flash. And yet in contrast to Kawada, Tōmatsu's atomic relics generally appear in isolation, like sacred objects upon an altar, or as if still encased in hermetic museum storage, already codified.

Rather than grouping his photographs together by theme, site, or chronology, like Domon, Tōmatsu instead relies on a theory of organization called the "mandala," where constellations or

[259] Iizawa Kōtarō, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu*" in *Shashinshū no tanoshimi,* 93.

"transmigrations" of photographs speak to one another simultaneously in a variety of different ways.[260] This sensibility too has much in common with the temporal layering and visual nodes of Kawada's *Chizu*, where narrative and meaning are drawn out slowly, over the course of an interaction with the photobooks, and where the viewer is rewarded by a deeper understanding of the images only after sustained and successive encounters.

However, Tōmatsu's photography in *11:02 Nagasaki* and *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* incorporates none of the visual confusion and technical trickery that suffuse Kawada's *Chizu*. The emotional power of Tōmatsu's images comes instead from an intelligent use of often vertiginous or unstable angles, from the deployment of negative space, from cropping and composition that either leaves the viewer uncomfortably close to, or yearningly just too far from, the subject. Tōmatsu's photographs are never intended to be deliberately *unclear*, they are intended instead to change one's point of view. Within the context of photographing a post-atomic Japan, this fundamentally different approach has much to do with Kawada and Tōmatsu's disparate intentions. *11:02 Nagasaki* is hyper-specific, meant to draw attention to the somewhat neglected second atomic city in a way that spoke to its particular reality and experience.[261] *Chizu* in comparison has an almost impossible broadness of scope—attempting to

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[260] Moriyama Daido, "Preface," in Rubinfien, Leo et al. *Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation* (Yale University Press, 2004), 10-11.

[261] Robert Jay Lifton recorded in 1968 the already solidified symbolic roles of the two cities, and especially the way in which Nagasaki's experience seemed to be one of resigned amnesia. "An article comparing Hiroshima and Nagasaki [...] appeared in *Time* while I was conducting my research," he writes. It "held up Hiroshima, in effect, as a bad example: a city which refuses to forget the A-bomb and remains 'grimly obsessed by that long-ago mushroom cloud,' 'the only city in the world that advertises its past misery,' and one which 'has made an industry of its fate.' In contrast, Nagasaki was seen as the good example: a 'monument to forgiveness,' 'a tranquil, beautiful seaport,' with 'no bitterness,' which has never been invaded by anti-nuclear demonstrators,' but has itself forgotten the A-bomb experience, which 'the world has seemingly forgotten' too." Lifton concludes that "the comparison is a particularly crude example of the kind of imagery frequently held about the two cities, by Japanese as well as Americans. [...] *Hiroshima has become the world's symbol of the consequences of nuclear weapons—a geographical*

capture in one publication a temporal eddy of more than twenty years, extending back far beyond the dropping of the atomic bombs, and craning its neck to peer into the murky future beyond 1965. Recalling Yoshimura Shinya's distinction between Domon and Tōmatsu's photobooks, and Kawada's *Chizu*, a defining difference can be seen in relationship to their understanding of temporality, where Domon and Tōmatsu are "oriented towards the past, oriented towards World War II," while Kawada provides "a document of experience of the war that is oriented towards the future, oriented towards the *image*."[262]

The most significant example of this comparative framework can be found in Tōmatsu's approach to the atomic relic, on the opening page of *11:02 Nagasaki*. Tōmatsu photographs a pocketwatch, nestled on a soft, white ground gently touched by light grey shadows (Figure 62). The hands of the watch are frozen—not by the act of photographing, but by the atomic bomb—at 11:02 a.m. The image speaks not only to the eerie power of the atomic blast to stop mechanical instruments and warp metal, but also to freeze time itself. It is a poignant representation of the zero-hour moment, the sensation that time before the dropping of the atomic bomb is rendered ontologically distinct, that in that single moment everything was changed. Or indeed, that everything afterwards is helplessly tied back to this moment in the past, time itself now unable to press forward. The unchanging, stark legibility—hands forever stuck at two minutes past eleven o'clock in the morning—is its emotional and psychological core.

In contrast, buried deep in the pages of *Chizu*, Kawada offers a different kind of relic. While not explicitly captured in the halls of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum like his other atomic objects, this photograph offers an entirely different conception of the remembrance

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representation of universal fear and guilt in a relationship to man's capacity to destroy himself—and Nagasaki has not become such a symbol." (Lifton, *Death in Life*, 306-307.)

[262] Yoshimura, "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," in *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū*, 238.

of history and the flow of time. The image is of a map of medieval Japan (Figure 63), over which is laid a scrim of dark, half-melted, semi-translucent plastic.[263] The physical cartography underneath—a 1595 Ortelius prototype of "Iaponia Insulae Descriptio," the first map of Japan ever to appear in a Western atlas (Figure 64)—is only visible through the strange, warped holes of the upper layer.[264] The negative space of the melted holes take on a kind of cartographic quality of their own, as if yet another fantastical continent of empty space has been laid on top of this ancient abstraction of Japan. Japan's past, here a historical and foreign abstraction of its physical geographic form, is occluded and transformed by this deformed and semi-transparent shadow—a shadow made of the collision of fire and contemporary, technological material. And so inside this particular palimpsest, the schematic clarity of the map is rendered half-illegible, like the calligraphy of the dead *Tokkōtai* pilots, like the keloid scar of the *hibakusha*. It is only through the gaps of this empty, unknown country that we can peer downwards, through the shadows, to try and make out the archipelago beneath.

[263] Interview with Kawada Kikuji, April 30, 2015. Tokyo, Japan.

[264] Based on my own research, this is clearly the best match for the physical map that Kawada photographed in this image, although the title for this photograph in the 2005 fascimile of *Chizu* refers to this image only as "The Medieval Map of Japan."

Chapter 4
"Where Life is Evil Now:" The Signs of the Present

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the final category of Kawada's *Chizu*—these signs of the present—is analyzed in relationship to the social and political context of early 1960s Japan, most particularly in relationship to mass-media, economic growth, concepts of nationhood, and major public events like the protests surrounding the 1960 US-Japan Security Treaty renewals and the preparations for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. This analysis shows that despite these signs of the present standing in as ostensible temporal contrasts to both Kawada's "stains" of Hiroshima (Chapter 2) and the *kinenbutsu* "memorial goods" (Chapter 3), he chooses to represent their contemporaneity as suspect. Instead, all these present signs of economic growth and mass information, of a "recovered" nation, appear just as inscrutable and haunted as the detritus of the war. As Kaneko Ryūichi writes about VIVO and photography in 1960, "[there was] a new search for what photography should be. Underlying this was the intention to turn away from the 'recovery' notion that had been the watchword of the postwar period, to aim in a direction that represented a rupture with the idea of recovery."[265] Rather than explicit rupture, I argue here that the final category of images from Kawada's *Chizu* are an explicit and deliberate *conflation* of the ruins of the past and the signs of the present, as if in attempting to map the memory and temporal life of a nation resulted only in the archaeological layers compressing further into one another, until one moment was rendered indistinguishable from another.

[265] Kaneko Ryūichi, "*Nihon shashin no tenkan: 1960 jidai no hyōgen*" in Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, *Nihon shashin no tenkan: 1960 jidai no hyōgen* (*Innovation of Japanese Photography: The Expression of the 1960s*) Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Bunka Shinkōkai, Tōkyō-to Shashin Bijutsukan, 1991, 13.

4.2 The Signs of the Present

A four-year-old boy went missing from a park in Tokyo on March 31, 1963. His name was Murakoshi Yoshinobu, and soon newspapers and televisions across Japan would be calling him "Yoshinobu-chan," declaring that his parents had been contacted with demands for a ransom, saying that police were appealing for any help from the public, saying that the perpetrator of this kidnapping had still yet to be caught. His body would be found in July on the grounds of Entsūji temple, the JP¥ 500,000 ransom paid months prior with no further word from the kidnapper. Police would charge 32-year-old Kohara Tamotsu with Yoshinobu-chan's kidnapping and murder nearly two years later, after Kohara had already been arrested on unrelated fraud charges, and later admitted to the other crimes upon questioning.[266]

Not only was Yoshinobu-chan's image plastered across newspaper pages and used regularly in television news broadcasts during the intervening months in 1963 before his body was found, so too were images of his mother pleading for his safe return (Figure 65). There were special segments documenting the timeline of the disappearance, highlighting the detail of Yoshinobu's little shoe left behind in an alleyway in Shinagawa after the payment of the ransom money failed to produce the return of the little boy (Figure 66).[267] There were newsreels featuring the major detectives on the case traveling into the local Taito-ku communities in both

[266] For more on the details of the Murakoshi Yoshinobu case within the sociological context of explicit violence and police investigative tactics in postwar Japan, see: Schreiber, Mark. *Shocking Crimes of Postwar Japan*. Tokyo: Yenbooks, 1996.

[267] Getty Image Archives, "Mainichi Productions, 1963: Let's Find Yoshinobu-chan!" gettyimages.co.uk. http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/video/lets-find-yoshinobu-appeal-for-information-in-yoshinobu-news-footage/493099506 (Accessed September 10, 2017).

plainclothes and in disguise, asking the public for assistance.[268] These segments often used images from the very park in which Yoshinobu-chan was last seen alive, and also the assumed spot of the kidnapping itself: zooming ominously into the shadows of the little tiled hut of the public bathroom, while the music playing behind the announcer's voice crested with a threatening and tense crescendo (Figure 68).[269]

The case of Yoshinobu-chan was at the time striking and newsworthy for many reasons: because of the perceived safety and comfort of an economically thriving and "recovered" nation, pierced with a moment of senseless violence against the most innocent kind of citizen; because of its temporal proximity to moments of civil unrest (particularly the leftwing and student protests against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1960), this terrible murder somehow heralded a new era of precariousness; or perhaps, even more chillingly for those that feared a regressive and nationalistic return in the political sphere, because of the way that this incident would fuel the fire of argument that all this postwar industrialization and Americanization would inevitably bring with it a very American kind of violence.

The kidnapping and murder of Yoshinobu-chan was also therefore tautologically newsworthy precisely because of its newsworthiness. The incident, its morbidity and its intrigue, intersected with a moment in the media landscape of 1960s Japan that was primed to capitalize on all of the above factors and potential connections. The years 1963-1965 marked a moment of enormous growth in home-based media consumption. 1966 is generally thought of as the threshold year in which the *sanshu no jingi* "three sacred treasures" of the early postwar—

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[268] Getty Image Archives, "Mainichi Productions, 1963: Investigations in the Town, The Empty Home of Yoshinobu Murakoshi," gettyimages.co.uk http://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/video/investigations-in-the-town-empty-home-of-yoshinobu-news-footage/492999000 (Accessed September 10, 2017).

[269] NHK archives, "*Yoshinobu-chan yūkai jiken*," ("The Kidnapping of Yoshinobu-chan"), NHK.or.jp, http://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030056_00000 (accessed September 13, 2017).

refrigerator, washing machine, and black-and-white television—were replaced by a new set of later postwar regalia, the "three Cs"—car, air conditioner, and color television—with only the television set surviving the transition.[270] By the early months of 1965, 90 percent of Japanese households owned a television set (color or otherwise).[271]

Furuhata Yuriko, in her work on the intersection of media spectacle and avant-garde Japanese filmmakers, argues that this increased access to televised images also increased access in particular to images and spectacles of violence:

> The 1960s saw an intensified mediatization of politics through the proliferation of television. It is worth repeating that this decade in Japan also opened, in 1960, with the first televised assassination—the assassination of Asanuma Inejirō, the head of the Socialist Party, by a young ultranationalist right-wing activist—which was followed by countless spectacles of violence relayed by television, from the images of armed riot police clashing with workers and student protesters to the images of U.S. military aggression in Vietnam, of the civil-rights movement, and of the spread of decolonization struggles in Latin America and Africa. This was also the decade that witnessed the most air hijackings, seajackings, and other direct-action tactics carried out by media-conscious militant activists.[272]

And in 1960, Shigemori Kōen issued a warning to Japan's photographers, not only about how the medium of television had already supplanted photography's relationship to news and

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[270] Igarashi, Yoshikuni. *Bodies of Memory : Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000, 79, 165. It should be noted that the "three imperial regalia" of the early postwar are sometimes alternatively referred to as the "three Ss"—*sentaku, senpūki, suihanki* (washing machine, electric fan, and electric rice cooker). For more, see: Kelly, William W. "Finding a Place in Metropolitan Japan: Ideologies, Institutions, and Everyday Life," in Gordon, Andrew, ed. *Postwar Japan as History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 189-238.

[271] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 131. This statistic is pulled by Igarashi from the *Japan Statistical Yearbook* for 1966, issued by the office of the Prime Minister and the Bureau of Statistics.

[272] Furuhata, Yuriko. *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics.* Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2013, 99.

information, but also how the "language of the image" must necessarily therefore try to do more than be fact, in and of itself:

> It goes without saying that the live television broadcast delivered a tremendous blow to photography as a print medium, which formerly delivered its power from its ability to convey the latest news quickly. Television, with its ability to bring images to the viewer instantly, replaced photography as the preferred means of presenting current events, and the role of the photograph has shifted to one of interpreting and critiquing the background of events and locations. [...]
>
> We live in increasingly complicated times, and the facts and phenomena that surround us grow increasingly murky accordingly. In order to elucidate them through images, we need a new language of images more than ever. Implicit in this endeavor is the self-evident logic that the language of images must be more than a mere direct translation of facts.[273]

On the other side of the 1960s, the photographer and critic Nakahira Takuma (associated with the avant-garde photography movement *Provoke*) looked back onto the last decade of media in his 1972 essay "*Kiroku to iu gen'ei,*" and considered what the mass media had actually done to the role of photography and the language of the image:

> [The] naive belief that assumes photography to be a record of reality gets inverted in the mass media, which gives rise to the mass hallucination that whatever is photographed is real. But this also suggests another logical inversion: whatever is not recorded by photography or not broadcast on television is unreal.[274]

[273] Shigemori Kōen, "*Shikaku gego no atarashii mondai: Eizō*" ("The New Problem of Visual Language: The Visual Image") *Photoart* 12, No. 6 (May 1960): 162-165 and *Photoart* 12, No. 7 (June 1960): 142-145. Translation as reproduced in Chong, Doryun. *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents*. New York, N.Y.; Durham, N.C.: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by Duke Univ Press, 2012, 146, 150.

[274] Nakahira Takuma, "*Kiroku to iu gen'ei: dokyumento kara monyumento e,*" *Bijutsu techō* (July 1972): translation as reproduced in Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 7.

The immense postwar desire to consume (as Igarashi notes, to both consume things like televisions but also the image of prosperity *delivered* on the television screens)[275] was therefore met with ubiquitous imagery that teetered consistently on the edge of real and not-real. The space of the television screen and the image that advertised were kings even above the Emperor himself. And yet at the same time this confluence of commodity and image-saturation began to create a world where anything not delivered through the language of the recorded and broadcast image was somehow *not* as real as the ambivalent status of the image on the screen.

Within this context, the televised and image-saturated coverage of Yoshinobu-chan's kidnapping, murder, and the eventual court case brought against the culprit in 1965 (Kohata would be sentenced to death and executed by the state in 1971), there is the sense that the social and media landscape of 1960s Japan (particularly a landscape of sensationalized violence) was already evolving into a Debordian breed of spectacle, where the spectacle's "specific manifestations—news or propaganda, advertising or the actual consumption of entertainment" were not "a collection of images," but rather "a social relationship between people that is mediated by images."[276]

Yoshinobu-chan's image appears in Kawada's *Chizu*, too (Figure 68). It is tucked away in a dark corner of the far right side of a *kannon-biraki* foldout. In Kawada's photograph, the image of Yoshinobu-chan appears as an image within an image: a photograph of a piece of paper on which Yoshinobu-chan's photograph is printed. The source is unclear—there appears to be a soft fold across the upper third of the paper; perhaps from one of the many pamphlets handed out during the months of 1963 before the little boy's body was found, or perhaps from a newspaper

[275] "Many Japanese turned an envious gaze toward the material wealth of American society portrayed in various media." Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 78.

[276] Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1994, 12-13.

or magazine clipping.[277] Above the edge of the paper, there is a single, spherical source of light, oscillating the entire image between environments (is it the moon, are we outdoors? Or is it a lamp, are we in Kawada's apartment?). The image of Yoshinobu-chan itself is barely illuminated. The tones of the photograph are grey on grey on yet darker grey, and Yoshinobu-chan's little face is barely discernible through the shadows and the crease of the paper on which his image is printed.

When the entirety of this four-page-spread is unfolded, Yoshinobu-chan's image is further eclipsed by the faces staring out from the remaining three pages. On the two leftmost pages are Kawada's photographs of police bulletins for wanted criminals (*hannin tehaishi*), cropped at close-range and further obfuscated by scattered pops of light flares, as if they have been photographed through cheap glass (Figure 69). A handwritten note is pinned between two mugshots on the bottom row of posters, asking for help from the community in the apprehension of the listed criminals. The central image in the *kannon-biraki* spread, however, is the looming, full-page portrait of a man who is identified as a "1,000 Yen Note Forger" (Figure 70).[278] This photograph, too, is clearly taken of a pre-existing image, not only because Kawada identifies it as a "photo-montage," but also because of the strange strip of white at the top of the photograph, and the shadow that falls across the man's eyes and round thick-framed glasses, almost like a bandit's mask.[279] The source image for Kawada's photograph is undoubtedly the "official

[277] Kawada is not certain about the exact source of this image, although additional research suggests it was one of several photographs of Yoshinobu-chan that were reproduced on television and in newspapers and magazines, like the May 1965 issue of *Meisei* magazine (Figure 71).

[278] Kawada Kikuji. *Chizu* (*The Map*). Tokyo: Nazraeli Press in association with Getsuyosha, 2005.

[279] *Ibid*.

composite image of the *Chi-37* incident perpetrator," which was released to the public in December 1963 (Figure 72).[280]

The *Chi-37* incident refers to a period of time between 1961 and 1963 when the Japanese police were consumed with apprehending the culprits behind an enormous counterfeiting scheme where fraudulent 1,000-yen notes of the highest quality were introduced into circulation in massive numbers. As William Marotti notes on his study of the relationship between the *Chi-37* incident and the work of postwar avant-garde artist Akasegawa Genpei:

> Article after article in the newspaper tracked the ongoing discoveries of different versions of the bills; in each case, newspapers publicized the serial numbers of the bills in question—virtually the only way for a layman to recognize these counterfeits. [...] Government efforts to stop this crime were both extensive and ineffectual. Although over 150,000 investigators were mobilized across the country, the perpetrators were never caught. Ultimately these high-quality counterfeits prompted the government to introduce the new, C-series 1,000-yen note in January 1963, just as Akasegawa first began his own printing project.[281]

Akasegawa's own project, involving the Neo-Dadaist reproduction of 1,000-yen bills in various forms (including large-format color, monochrome, one-sided, etc.) collided inadvertently with the actual criminal counterfeiting scheme of *Chi-37*, resulting in a highly-publicized criminal case that put not only Akasegawa, but also the notion of authenticity and the concept of art and 'non' art on trial.[282] While the most compelling stakes of Akasegawa's project and the

[280] Marotti, William A. *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013, 247.

[281] Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines*, 21.

[282] For more on the relationship between Akasegawa's 1000-yen note projects, the criminal justice system, and the anti-art movement in Japan see Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines*, Merewether, Charles, Rika Iezumi Hiro, Reiko Tomii, and Getty Research Institute. *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970.* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007, and also Tomii, Reiko. "State v. (Anti-)Art: Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident by Akasegawa Genpei and Company." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 10, No. 1 (March 1, 2002): 141–72.

subsequent fallout are perhaps too far afield for this discussion of Kawada Kikuji's mapping of 1960s Japan in *Chizu*, in Kawada's inclusion of the actual criminal counterfeiter's composite image alongside reproductions of other criminals, *and* alongside the photograph of Yoshinobu-chan's missing poster, *Chizu* reveals a certain philosophical sensibility about the potential state of the image and the role of the media in 1960s Japan.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, Kawada's *Chizu* deliberately shies away from any direct photographic representations of human beings. With the exception of the portrait of the old veteran and his medals, nearly every other human form photographed within the photobook is either metonymic, or more strikingly, is of a *representation* of a human being in some other form: a statue, a photograph, a shadow, an advertisement, a television screen. Kawada's choice of hypermediation of the human form, the simulacra of the simulacra, is central to a discussion of how the present is mapped into this temporal atlas. I argue that Kawada's representation of the third category of images in this photobook—forms of media, of violence, of capital, and of present signs of nationhood—are all configured as either mediation (a la Debord), or as atemporal ruins. There is nothing *present*, *Chizu* posits, in the present moment.

In order to access the photographs of Yoshinobu-chan, the composite face of the *Chi-37* counterfeit scheme culprit, and the bulletin display of wanted criminals, *Chizu* demands that you first encounter and then unfold a photograph of television screens. Put another way, in this particular collision of images, at this particular node of the map, Kawada deliberately requires that you must first confront a photograph of nine identical televisions, stacked in rows of three, each displaying the same identical image on their screen: a Japanese Self-Defense Force soldier, round little helmet perched on his head and the muzzle of his rifle tipped up to his shoulder,

pointing at the sky (Figure 32). Shibusawa remarks in his review of *Chizu* that upon first encountering this moment in the photobook, that the repetition of the screens was the most striking elements: "the composition of presenting these [screens] one-by-one is, at first glance, reminiscent of Pop Art, or America's Rauschenberg."[283] Yoshimura Shinya calls the televisions examples of "*objets*,"[284] which as Marotti notes was in the art world of early 1960s Japan a deeply loaded term:

> [particularly] at the Yomiuri Indépendant, [the term *objet*] came to be shorthand not for something aestheticized, but rather for an object that, first of all, was put under a kind of radical scrutiny. There was the expectation that the artist's gesture of setting forth the object implied a kind of suspicion: whether it was a specially assembled art construction, or an everyday item sitting there with little or no embellishment or reconfiguration, it was to be interrogated like a criminal, for a yet-unknown crime.[285]

Marotti's analysis of the role of the 1960s *objet* presents a wonderful coincidence in the consideration of this particular image-node of *Chizu*. If the televisions are, as Yoshimura suggests, put forth by Kawada like *objets,* then we should scrutinize them as if they are culpable of criminal activity, of some "yet-unknown" transgression or violence. On the screens themselves, of course, there is the repeated image of the SDF soldier, an oddly non-violent military symbol—neutered and oxymoronic. Perhaps, Kawada is saying here, the thing you think you see as criminal or as violent on the surface of your television screens is not actually the criminal act taking place. The image itself is not the culprit, nor indicative of a violent crime.

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[283] Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, "*Kabe no shimi to hyumanitei no umeki"* ("The Stained Walls and the Groaning of Humanity"), in Jimbo et al., *Theatrum Mundi: Kawada Kikuji*, 219.

[284] Yoshimura Shinya, "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," in *Gendai shashin no meisaku kenkyū* (*Research on the Masterpieces of Modern Photography*), 238-239, 236.

[285] Marotti, William. "Political Aesthetics: Activism, Everyday Life, and Art's Object in 1960s' Japan." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (December 2006): 606–18, 610. The Yomiuri Indépendant was a yearly art exhibition held from 1949 until 1963, known for welcoming and allowing some of the most avant-garde and experimental submissions.

This collision of photographs of *objets* instead suggests something like a Debordian *weltanschauung* again: the images alone are not violent, nor are the technological mechanisms of their mass distribution.[286] What one should be scrutinizing are the various systems of relationships between these "signs of the present:" the television itself, the sensationalism of a murdered child, criminal activity and police activity, the advertisement and the neon sign, the evidence of postwar manufacture and labor.

While the photograph of the stacked television screens might have reminded Shibusawa of Warhol and the aesthetics of American Pop Art, another image in Chizu recalls both the graphic sensibility and subject matter of that same movement. Across a two-page spread, split in the center by the *kannon biraki* cut, is a composite montage image of neon advertisements, rendered here by Kawada in starkly graphic monochrome (Figure 35). The right-hand side of the image looks as though it has been haphazardly stamped with slogans, company names, logos; or as though Kawada has photographed a street scene at night with a fish-eye lens, curving the rows of signage into something like a whirling eddy. Near the center, there is the prominent stamp of Coca-Cola, with its mass-identifiable swooping script, like the top of a bottle cap floating in the darkness. And although the rest of the advertisements are highly-contrasted and often degraded to the point of illegibility, one can also make out the signs for 不二サシン (Fuji Sashin), ホテルニューナゴヤ (Hotel New Nagoya), TOSHIBA, KUBOTA, and 森永チョコレート (Moriyama Chocolates).

On the left-hand side of the photograph, two human faces emerge out of the blackness, both of them contorted in expressions of fear: mouths stretched open wide, the whites of their eyes showing (Figure 73, detail). The face at the upper left-hand corner of the photograph

[286] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 13.

oscillates between fear and aggression, looking a little like a gargoyle in the shadows, the curl of a shadow on her forehead reminiscent of Medusa's snakes. Below her is collaged the image of a man on his back, neck twisted and fearful face turned up and towards the viewer. Because of the cropping of the montaged image on the black background, Kawada has created a space in which it appears that this figure is trapped, *compressed*, by the weight of the blackness around him.

Rather than suggest naively that one could read the combination of the advertising signs and the images of human faces twisted in fear as some kind of commentary on the horror of mass consumerism, I suggest instead that Kawada is forcing a recontextualization through his use of photomontage and experimental techniques of reproduction. There is an inherent violence in the act of montage, to be sure—the cutting and suturing together of whole images—and Kawada here is also mining his interest in Surrealism techniques of the collage,[287] but more significant may be the way he is attempting to imbue these images with the same sense of existential questioning as the illegibility of the Etajima artifacts, or the *hibakusha* keloid scars.[288] Recalling the very first published review of Kawada's one-man show at the Fuji Photo Salon in 1961, the reviewers—from Ina Nobuo, Watanabe Tsutomu, Kanemaru Shigene, and Kimura Ihee—grappled with the merits and possible meanings of the so-called "section C," which included the photographs of advertisements and neon signs.

"Section C," says Kimura, "Is completely different [from the other sections.] In this section, there's a feeling that [Kawada] is reciting the poetry of his own isolation."[289] Kanemaru replies, "When you progress through the whole thing, there's the sort of nihilistic hopelessness

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[287] Iizawa Kōtarō. *Kawada Kikuji. Nihon no shashinka 33.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998, 8.

[288] See Chapter 3 of this dissertation for a more detailed analysis.

[289] Ina Nobuo, Watanabe Tsutomu, Kanemaru Shigene, Kimura Ihee, "*Mondai saku wo erabu*" ("A choice of controversial works"), *Asahi Camera* 47, No 1 (Jan, 1962), pgs 170 - 178, 174.

that is part of us humans in our time now [... In section C] there is also a feeling that comes through that seems as though it is appealing for me to do something [*doushitara ii na da to uttaeteiru you na mono ga deteiru ki ga suru*]."[290] Yoshimura Shinya, too, in his later analysis of the photobook picks up on a similar analysis, pinpointing the way in which the introduction of crime, violence, and advertisements into the photobook start to give the entire collection a sense of increasing ossification and inertia:

> In the middle of this map's world, everything is fossilized, like a beautiful corpse. Therefore, the only thing regulating the ethics of this corpsified world is power. Power, and even more so, if I can be straightforward, violence. A violence guided by insanity. In this photobook, the subjects appear to have no relation to one another, like a photograph of a person wanted by the police for murder, or the photograph of Yoshinobu-chan, or movie advertisements and neon signs. [...] there is the unspeakable sense of frustration and failure, and there is nowhere anything like a hopeful exit, nor any relief.[291]

If even these familiar images of movie posters and neon signs offer no "hopeful exit" or "relief," Kawada has successfully recontextualized them out of the space of the Debordian spectacle, and into a place that can point directly *at* the existential feeling of being trapped inside such a construct—both as a citizen and as an artist—where the meaning and role of the image in society feels consistently flattened into a landscape of mediation. In such a media landscape where the violent murder of the child is expressed in the same visual language as the advertisement for Coca-Cola, to Kawada, this means he can turn this very language of equalization on its head, and represent a moment of failed military power and imperialist expansion (the crumbled, ruined military bases that lined the coast of Japan) in the same aesthetic and emotional language as the symbols of Japanese contemporary industrial success.

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[290] Ina Nobuo, Watanabe Tsutomu, Kanemaru Shigene, Kimura Ihee, "*Mondai saku wo erabu*" ("A choice of controversial works"), *Asahi Camera* 47, No 1 (Jan, 1962), pgs 170 - 178, 174.

[291] Yoshimura Shinya, "*Chizu—Kawada Kikuji*," 244.

Kawada's photographs of iron scraps punctuate the pages of *Chizu* much like the constant interjection of the stains. Like the stains, too, they waver between abstraction and representation (Figure 74) sometimes appearing as highly stylized expanses of shiny white and pure black, other times as the wriggling, half-dead corpses of mechanical earthworms (Figure 75). And like the stains, they are deeply textural images: exploiting Kawada's photographic and printing skills to deploy delicate gradients in monochrome photography to the extent that they can be both a kind of crumbling remnant of the past *and* a sign of the shiny prosperity and heavy industrial production that was the backbone of the economic recovery of postwar Japan. After all, as Fukushima Tatsuo reminds his readers about the economic context underpinning the rise of the VIVO-era photographers:

> Between 1955 and 1956, postwar Japan had more or less finished climbing the stairs of capitalism, national and international politics, and economic preparation and reserve, and was beginning this so-called miraculous recovery, the *kōdoseichō* [postwar period of rapid growth]. In 1955, the conditions were such: the national income total had grown to four times of that from before the war, the heavy chemical industry production scale was already twice that of the prewar, and the number of employed persons was six times that of the prewar."[292]

And yet Kawada photographing these signs of industrial and economic success out of their visible environmental context (much as he does with the stains), allows them an important surrealist slippage. They can be both signs of productivity and signs of decay—objects (or *objets*, even) locked into a temporal flux. Even more so, within the context of the temporal atlas that is *Chizu*, they speak to a kind of continuous metamorphosis, an ouroboros: decay creates prosperity creates decay creates prosperity, *ad nauseum*.

[292] Fukushima Tatsuo. *Fukushima Tatsuo shashin hyōronshū: Vol. 2, "10nin no me," VIVO jidai* (*Collected Criticism from Fukushima Tatsuo: Vol 2, "The Eyes of Ten" and the era of* VIVO) Tokyo: Madosha, 2011, 22.

At the very least, the use of—and imagery of—scrap metal was marked as such by other avant-garde artists working in the 1960s, particularly those associated with the Yomiuri Indépendant, anti-art, and performance groups such as Hi Red Center. Marotti, in the context of his typologies of the various artists working within the sphere of the Indépendant in the early 1960s, comments in particular on the use of scrap metal in the work of the Neo-Dada artist Toyoshima Sōroku (1940–):

> Toyoshima's penchant for scrap metal materials was associated directly with his childhood play with similar items left in the rubble after the end of WWII. Despite the ubiquity of such aesthetic claims, and their reductiveness, we might reconsider this gesture for what it leaves out: the origins of the material, the scrap metal itself, in the then-contemporaneous economic expansion, and the puzzling, uncanny link between such debris and war posited by this characterization. Rather than returning us to the narrative origins of a 'postwar' Japan and the aesthetic preferences of an individual artist, this latter link is ultimately decipherable only through considering the connection between Japanese prosperity and war in Asia.[293]

If the national narrative for Japanese economic recovery posited by Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato's administration (to be discussed in greater detail in the following section, "Challenging Order in 1960s Japan") was one based at least in part on industrial manufacture, artists who used or evoked materials of that postwar industrial space were unconsciously or otherwise inserting their work into a conversation about what the government mandate for economic recovery meant, and what it looked like. In the case of Kawada, his photographs of scrap metal presented as disconnected, decontextualized *objets,* both ruined and potentially lucrative at the same time, say something particular about the kind of narrative order imposed by Ikeda's *kōdoseichō.* The metal scraps have no discernable origin, no known destination: they exist simply as mechanical organisms, intentionally separated from their use value. Through their uselessness, they haunt the

[293] Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines,* 160-161.

national narrative of economic recovery, challenging through their discrete cellular wriggling the economic edicts of “this way forward!”

4.3 Challenging Order in 1960s Japan

The seeds of political unrest in early 1960s Japan were planted in the conditions of the official end of the Allied Occupation. When the Allied countries and Japan signed the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty (*San-Furanshisuko kōwa-Jōyaku*, also known as the "Peace Treaty with Japan," *Nihon-koku tono Heiwa-Jōyaku*), a set of geopolitical dynamics were formalized, including the five articles of the Security Treaty Between the United States of America and Japan (*Nipponkoku to Amerikagasshūkoku to no aida no anzen hoshōjōyaku*). The security treaty solidified the allied relationship between Japan and the United States, but also stipulated in its articles the required presence of American military forces on Japanese soil "in the interest of peace and security."[294] In particular, Article I of the treaty said in full:

> Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.[295]

Ratified and signed by Japan's Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, the first iteration of the security treaty also ushered in the Liberal Party-led "adherence to [...] economic nationalism, restrained militarization, and close relations with the United States," now referred to as the "Yoshida Doctrine."[296] Yoshida's version of democracy in Japan, which would last until 1954, linked the primacy of Japan's economic recovery to relatively subservient cooperation with the

[294] Packard III, George R., *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*. Princeton University Press, 2015, 355.

[295] Packard, *Protest in Tokyo*, 355-356.

[296] Dower, John W. "Yoshida in the Scales of History," in *Japan in War and Peace*, 210.

United States. And while Yoshida stubbornly resisted any American suggestion that Japan engage in "rapid rearmament" (justified by a zealous commitment to Article Nine of the Japanese constitution),[297] the Yoshida government for several years was happy to quash leftist, socialist, and communist critiques of the treaty specifically, and of the American military presence in Japan more broadly.

After Yoshida's resignation in 1954, the Liberal Party eventually morphed into the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), led by the new Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke, who was elected in 1957.[298] One of Kishi's major political goals was substantial reform of the initial US-Japan Security Treaty, following in the footsteps of his LDP predecessor Hatoyama Ichirō, who unsuccessfully campaigned for the repeal of Article Nine and revision of the so-called "MacArthur Constitution."[299] Kishi sought renewal of the Security Treaty on the grounds of creating a more equal footing between the two countries. Rather than attempting to rework the political, military, and diplomatic relationship from the ground-up, Kishi convinced the Americans to come to the table by the late 1950s by expressing a desire to negotiate for a treaty that relieved Japan of its subordinate role while still maintaining American military presence (among other major components of the original treaty).

Despite Kishi's seemingly "centrist" position, his push for a treaty renewal galvanized leftist groups who had always stood in opposition to US military bases and Japanese economic and political subservience to America, but who now—several years out from under the anti-

[297] Dower, "Yoshida in the Scales of History," 231.

[298] In the immediate postwar years, Kishi was held under suspicion of being a Class-A War Criminal due to his actions as an administrator in colonial Manchuria, and was imprisoned in Sugamo Prison for three years. He was released without indictment in 1951.

[299] Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. Oxford University Press, 2009, 270.

communist rule of the Allied Occupation—saw in Kishi a potential to "return to fascist Japan, an impression strengthened by his efforts to revise the constitution, suppress teachers, and expand police authority."[300] Leading up to the June 1960 ratification of the revised treaty, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the United States of America (*Nihon-koku to Amerika-gasshūkoku to no Aida no Sōgo Kyōryoku oyobi Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku*, often referred to simply as "ANPO," from *Anpo jōyaku*), members of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), student groups like the Zengakuren, labor organizations like the Japan Teachers' Union (JTU) and other leftist organizations began to organize protests across the nation under the umbrella of the People's Council to Stop the Revised Security Treaty (*Anpo Jōyaku Kaitei Soshi Kokumin Kaigi*). Although, as Nikhil Kapur notes, the actual political power of the JCP and JSP had waned considerably in the 1950s due to the popularity and endurance of the LDP, the political leftists "wielded outsized influence among Japan's intelligencia and within the labor movement, and its organizational prowess and ability to mobilize bodies for protests was formidable and duly respected."[301]

These strikes and protests reached a climax when Kishi effectively pushed the revised ANPO treaty through the Diet at midnight on May 20, 1960. Frustrated with the stonewalling by the leftist parties and unrest within his own party's factions, Kishi ensured the vote's passage through a series of manipulative machinations, including attaching the vote to a confidence procedure (ensuring that if the treaty vote failed, the LDP-led government would as well), ordering the presence of five-hundred police officers into the Lower House chamber during the

[300] Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines*, 136.

[301] Kapur, Nikhil Paul. "The 1960 US-Japan Security Treaty Crisis and the Origins of Contemporary Japan." Ph.D., Harvard University, 2011, 34.

vote, and televising the forced removal of JSP members who were engaged in a peaceful protest.[302]

The increasing protests following the treaty's renewal vote were now just as much about Kishi's strongarm, anti-democratic tactics as they were about American military bases on Japanese soil, anti-Nuclear proliferation, and anti-Vietnam and Korean War sentiment. Throughout the months of May and June 1960, "the organized Left and a large number of participants in the opposition movement narrowed their scope to attack that which Kishi represented: the return of the pre-1945 militarist legacy,"[303] opening up public dissent to include everyday citizens of Japan who might not have felt compelled to protest if not for the understandable anger directed at the public figure of Kishi himself. Including daily protests at the Diet building in Tokyo and other relevant political sites, the June 4, 1960 general strike is estimated to have involved 5.6 million people.[304] The protests reached a bloody peak only a week or so later, when a Zengakuren-lead protest broke through the gates of the Diet and was met with force by police, who used batons and water cannons to hold off the protestors. A female university student, Kanba Michiko, who was at the front lines of the protest, was killed.[305] Hundreds more were seriously injured.

Following the bloodshed of June 15, continued protests merged with memorials for Kanba and the other injured students. The Security Treaty was automatically renewed on June

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[302] Kapur, "The 1960 US-Japan Security Treaty Crisis and the Origins of Contemporary Japan," 38; Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines*, 136.

[303] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 133.

[304] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 135.

[305] For more on the significance of Kanba's death, particularly for female protesters, in the aftermath of June 15, 1960, see: Mackie, Vera. "Embodied Memories, Emotional Geographies: Nakamoto Takako's Diary of the Anpo Struggle." *Japanese Studies* 31, no. 3 (December 1, 2011): 319–31.

19th; Kishi resigned immediately following the dual ratification from the United States and Japan, only four days later. The protesters in the streets were left to claim only partial victory, having ousted Kishi and his violent, increasingly authoritarian tactics, but failing to have stopped the renewal of the ANPO treaty and its "neocolonial" occupation of Japanese land.[306] Ikeda Hayato succeeded Kishi as the new Prime Minister and leader of the LDP, beginning the decade of the 1960s as a period of rapid economic growth—*kōdoseichō*—and political "laying low"—*teishisei*—preferring to reduce societal friction and meet dissent with negotiation, not force.[307]

In general, the photographic visualization of this tumultuous, violent period in Japan's history relied on a version of *reportage* and *hōdō shashin*. Not including the numerous photographs of the protests that were published in major newspaper outlets such as the *Asahi Shinbun* (Figures 76-77), and coverage of the protests broadcast on television networks such as the NHK,[308] photojournals and magazines published these images too—including an ongoing series of the work of the Natori Yōnosuke-trained photographer Nagano Shigeichi in *Asahi Camera* throughout the entire year of 1960 (Figure 78). However, the most comprehensive photographic record of the 1960 ANPO protests belongs to Hamaya Hiroshi, mentioned only briefly in the introduction of this dissertation as one of the photographers contemporaneous with Domon Ken.

[306] Dower, "Yoshida in the Scales of History," 235.

[307] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 143.

[308] NHK. "60 年安保闘争." テレビ 60 年 特選コレクション | NHK アーカイブス. Last accessed February 2, 2018. https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030036_00000.

Hamaya, born in 1915, worked as a photographer in the prewar, wartime, and postwar eras as a photographer committed to the "documentary function of photography."[309] Preferring the phrase *kiroku* (to record, or document) over the more photojournalist-associated *hōdō shashin*, Hamaya nonetheless shot and published some of the most extensive photo-documentation of the ANPO protests of 1960 in a clarified visual language that captured the chaos, violence, and upheaval of this particular historical moment. His photobook *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*A Record of Rage and Sadness*) was published in August 1960 by Kawade Shobō Shinsha: it presents a clearly captioned and chronologically organized record from May 20–June 22.

In Hamaya's version of events, crowds are either photographed from semi-aerial views in order to demonstrate the scale of the protests, or otherwise from deep within the skirmishes themselves. In a photograph from June 3 (Figure 79), flags and hoisted signs associated with Tokyo's Waseda University punctuate the air above the crowd of mostly young men (with a few young women), some of them wearing their school uniforms. Hamaya's photograph, taken looking down onto the crowd, captures a sense of forward-surging energy and relative calm—not an opposing police force member in sight. In contrast, another photograph from the same day (Figure 80) shows a wave of the shiny, dark domes of police helmets meeting a downward thrust of the shouting, angry faces of the student protesters: they meet in the middle of the image in a nearly perfect horizontally bifurcated composition. In this photograph, the energy of the protest is more tightly compacted, shot from the close edges of the crowds; the lower and upper halves of the photo's composition pressing firmly up against one another so as to suggest the sensation of the crush. In yet another image, from June 11 (Figure 81), the speed and dynamism of

[309] Reynolds, *Allegories of Time and Space*, 9. For more on Hamaya's work throughout the 1930s and 1940s, see: Reynolds, "Hamaya Hiroshi's 'Return to Japan,' in *Allegories of Time and Space*, 1-53.

protesting bodies on a darkened Tokyo street is so fervent that Hamaya captures the scene with a foreground composed only of smeary, blurred washes of white and grey.

Hamaya was also one of the only photographers to capture images of Kanba Michiko following the June 15th clashes with police. In Hamaya's photograph (Figure 82), a group of four men lift Kanba off the ground: her battered face turned upward and one arm stretched out diagonally toward the upper-left corner of the image.[310] Although captured in an undoubtedly chaotic moment of fear and confusion, the photograph has all the emotional power and visual language of a *pietà*, and not only due to the way in which Kanba herself—her life, her personal ideals, and her role in the protests—was transmuted postmortem into a symbol and narrative of pure feminine martyrdom.[311]

For some contemporary critics, the use of reportage and *kiroku shashin* photography for the protests of 1960 required thinking seriously about whether *kiroku shashin*, *hōdō shashin*, and photojournalism-style photography in general might still serve a specific and necessary function, even with the realization that the so-called "subjectivity" of the VIVO-era photographers was increasingly inventive, popular, and influential. For Watanabe Tsutomu, this could be reconciled

[310] The identity of the woman in Hamaya's photograph has not been completely confirmed, but a pamphlet publication by the Zengakuren documenting the events of June 15 captions Hamaya's image with Kanba's name. See: Katō Naotake, Sasaki Shōji, Takahashi Shōhachi, Fukumoto Yasuhiko, and Hoshiyama, Yasuo, eds. *6/15: Ware Ware No Genzai*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Zengakuren Anpo Hikokudan, 1961. This attribution was furthered supported by additional research done by Justin Jesty for the MIT Visualizing Cultures series, put forth in his essay, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage and Grief." *MIT Visualizing Cultures*. Accessed February 14, 2018. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/tokyo_1960/anp2_essay05.html.

[311] Hamaya himself was well-aware of this narrative forming, as he photographed the way in which memorials were folded into ongoing protests in the days following Kanba's death, and the way in which her image began to be imbued with the same voice of dissent as any other protest sign. For more on the way in which Kanba Michiko's death was transformed in the wake of the June 15 protests, see Schieder, Chelsea Szendi. "Coed Revolution: The Female Student in the Japanese New Left, 1957-1972." Ph.D., Columbia University, 2014.

by the idea that the "fact" of the historical events were simply being matched with the "fact" of the images:

> [the] several reportage photographs of the incidents that occurred around the Diet before and after June 15 are, so-to-speak, typical sorts of expression seen up until now, where the image remains in the role of description in order to help develop the story. It is as if one of the young [...] students is letting out a loud "Ah!"—and the image is used merely as a means to introduce those facts.[312]

These kinds of photographs, for Watanabe, depended on a belief in the narrative function of photography, where "expression tends to become descriptive,"[313] posited as standing in soft opposition to newer photographic trends that foregrounded subjectivity.

Shigemori Kōen's "*Shikaku gego no atarashii mondai: Eizō*" article of May 1960 takes protest photography as a deliberate example of the way this emergent subjective expression and documentary technique seemed to be coalescing in the early days of the new decade. "Imagine the concrete fact of a violent collision of police and a group of demonstrators," he writes:

> A photographer is observing the conflict, and his ideas begin to influence this observation, for example, by creating a concept that casts the battle as one between authority and the oppressed. He then forms in his mind a conceptual image of what a battle between authority and the oppressed should be like, based on his previous experience. Seeking to visually portray the conceptual image of how struggles of unarmed demonstrators are ruthlessly crushed by the might of armed authorities, he chooses to photograph specific scenes and selects camera angles that capture it with maximum precision. In the course of this process, the visual image becomes a subjective expression of the photographer's viewpoint.[314]

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[312] Watanabe, "*Atarashii shashin hyōgen no keikō"* ("New Trends in Photographic Expression"), 149.

[313] *Ibid.*

[314] Shigemori, "*Shikaku gego no atarashii mondai: Eizō*" ("The New Problem of Visual Language: The Visual Image"), as reproduced in Chong, *From Postwar to Postmodern,* 149.

As someone "sympathetic" with the goals of the 1960 protests,[315] Hamaya's "subjective expression" could therefore be reconciled with his *kiroku shashin* approach—for Shigemori, there was no need to dismiss these kinds of photographs because of their claims to objectivity. They could instead be subjective expressions of a historical event, true to the way the photographer experienced, and felt about, the scenes unfolding in front of them. At the same time, however, Hamaya's record of the 1960 protests retain the specificity of linear time and documentation. Grouped chronologically by exact dates, accompanied by explanatory captions, Hamaya's *Record of Rage and Sadness* is a narrative record of violence constructed of discrete synchronic moments. While individual images—Kanba's death, or that of a battered flag waving defiantly in the misty light on one of the final days of protest (Figure 83)—might accrue additional symbolic readings post-facto, the guiding intent of these photos is Hamaya's belief that photography could make significant, evidentiary contributions to an "ethnographic" understanding of society.[316]

In contrast to Hamaya's *kiroku-shashin* documentation of violence and unrest, Kawada's version of the 1960 protests appears in *Chizu* as sparse and elusive metaphorical images, not easily linked to the historical specificity of the event through setting or context. One such image is that of the photograph of the Japanese national flag, the *hinomaru*, which appears only once in his photobook (Figure 48). Split down the middle by a *kannon-biraki* fold, the flag is photographed as a wrinkled, wet-looking rag, trampled on the ground. While the rumpled surface of the white portion of the flag—looking more like tarnished silver in Kawada's monochrome touch—takes up the majority of the surface of the photograph, the center of the image is a

[315] Jesty, Justin. "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage & Grief: Hamaya Hiroshi's Photos of the Anti-Security Treaty Protests." *Asia Pacific Journal* 13, no. 2 (March 2015): 1–13, 1.

[316] For more on Hamaya's relationship to ethnography and photography, see Reynolds, "Hamaya Hiroshi's 'Return to Japan,' in *Allegories of Time and Space*, 1-53.

sucking, misshapen black hole. Inside the dark central sun of the *hinomaru,* the wrinkles look less like volcanic gulleys and more like tiny ripples on the surface of a whirlpool eddy. Barely visible beneath the surface of the flag itself is the hint of wet asphalt, the glimpse of a discarded chain link at the bottom margin of the photograph, the imprint of a boot sole in a puddle at the far right-hand corner.

If we compare Kawada's *hinomaru* to another of Hamaya's photographs, from June 15, 1960 (Figure 84), there is a clear link to detritus photographed post-protest, post-stampede, and post-violence. In Hamaya's photograph, a crushed protest sign lies on the asphalt, bisecting the image and surrounded on all sides by scattered reminders of the bodies that had been there, had taken up physical space and moved there in active protest: shoes, *geta* sandals, hats, rocks, and scraps of clothing. Here, the specific violence of the event is referenced through pseudo-indexical evidence: it has the haunting and titillating quality of a crime scene, the potential to reconstruct the reality of what occurred made possible through what has been left behind.

Like Hamaya's photograph, Kawada's *hinomaru* retains the sense of something discarded, either deliberately or otherwise. While the national flag was rarely hoisted by protesters in the streets in the spring of 1960, Kawada's discarded *hinomaru* stands as an eerie echo of the other flags raised by various labor groups and student organizations. It also brings to mind the potential of the flag being discarded by right-wing anti-protest protesters loyal to the Kishi and LDP government. During this period, violence between leftist and right-wing conservative groups was common, the most extreme example of which was the assassination of Asanuma Inejirō, head of the Japan Socialist Party. On October 12, 1960, Asanuma was attending a series of national political debates, when he was attacked on broadcast television by a member of one of the ultranationalist *uyoku dantai* groups, who wielded a traditional samurai sword.

Kawada's *hinomaru* therefore can be both a piece of evidentiary detritus of the leftist protests *and* a gesture toward the larger divisive political violence encompassing Japan at the turn of the 1960s. The trampled surface of the flag as an allegory suggests a metonymic reading of a nation crumpled, dirty, and trodden-down by layers of compounded violence—however, unlike Hamaya's detritus, this metonymic function of the national flag goes far deeper and further back than the 1960 protests. The *hinomaru*'s symbolic meaning changed drastically, in both political and subjective ways, over the course of its existence. Once informally adopted during the Meiji era (1868-1912) as the naval ensign in 1870, early concepts associated with the flag included early-twentieth century modernity and geopolitical/economic nation building in the international sphere, while the Taishō (1912-1926) and wartime Shōwa-era *hinomaru* was increasingly associated with growing nationalism, imperialism, militarism, propaganda, and the Emperor-ordained right to colonize East Asia. In the immediate postwar era, under Allied Occupation, display of the flag was strictly forbidden in most public venues and business, relegating it to a sign of shame.[317] Following the Occupation, the *hinomaru* was eventually recouped in disparate ways to show support for political parties (especially the LDP), Japan's recovery on the economic stage, and promoting Japan abroad as ally, but the *hinomaru* remains even to this day a complicated patriotic symbol due to its association with ultranationalist groups.[318] Schools are permitted to display the flag but are not required by law to do so, while more recently, significant numbers of Japanese public school teachers have been punished or

[317] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 208. American GIs often referred to the *hinomaru* as the "Japanese meatball."

[318] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 553.

reprimanded for being insufficiently patriotic (according to municipal leaders and school board members) in relation to national symbols like the flag and the national anthem.[319]

Out of all the nearly 200 photographs that comprise *Chizu*, the *hinomaru* photograph is perhaps one of the most well-known, regularly collected as a high-quality single print by major museum institutions across the globe, positioning it as representative of the art historical significance of Kawada's work.[320] It is consistently referenced as an iconic marker of the photobook itself by photography and photobook historians such as Iizawa, Kaneko, Ivan Vartanian, Jimbo Kyoko and Yoshimura Shinya, yet it rarely if ever is fully analyzed as a significant gesture toward the political reality of the 1960s, or toward the way in which the flag itself is figured in *Chizu* as a deeply powerful palimpsest. Although by 1965—the year of *Chizu*'s publication—the Ikeda government had been largely successful with a half-decade of policy foregrounding economic *kōdoseichō* and "politics of patience," Kawada's ambiguously political crumpled *hinomaru* suggests a simultaneous reading of the past and the present through the same symbol, suggesting that underneath the veneer of income-doubling and massive gains in GDP growth, was a kind of archaeological toxicity still poisoning the ground.

I argue that Kawada's *hinomaru* is positioned as a kind of melancholic object, or node, within the atlas of *Chizu*, positioned through shared aesthetics and context to be read potentially

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[319] For a more in-depth study of the *hinomaru* and the Japanese national anthem in history and post-1999, se: Tateo, Shimizu. "Japan, the Ambiguous, and Its Flag and Anthem." *Japan Quarterly; Tokyo* 46, no. 4 (October 1, 1999): 3–9. More recent events show how the conservative turn in the Japanese government has had an impact on this precise issue. In the early years of the twenty-first century, for example, a group of Japanese public school teachers were punished for refusing to stand and face the flag while singing the Japanese National Anthem. Their subsequent lawsuit alleging a breach of constitutional rights was dismissed by the Tokyo District Court in 2009. For more, see: Tabuchi, Hiroko, "Japanese Court Rejects Teachers' Suit Over Flag," *The New York Times*, March 26, 2009, sec. Asia Pacific, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/27/world/asia/27japan.html;

[320] The *hinomaru* photograph appears in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art (New York), the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Tokyo Museum of Modern Art, the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, and the Tate Modern.

as similar to the diachronic (atomic) violence of the stains. The *hinomaru* photograph, as palimpsest in and of itself, encompasses everything from Japan's Imperialist past, to Kanba Michiko and the protests in the spring of 1960, to Asanuma's televised assassination: layers of violence compressed and folded into every wrinkle and fold. In a Benjaminian-Freudian reading, the melancholic object sits in opposition to the *acedia* of historicism, offering instead a reading of the present where the violence of the past never fully heals. Melancholic objects are not mourned as specifically lost (where therefore psychological closure can eventually be achieved), because they resist a "'grasping' and 'holding' onto a fixed notion of the past."[321] Instead, writes Freud, melancholia is the result of knowing "that a loss of the kind has been experienced, but one cannot see clearly *what* has been lost [...] There is more in the content of melancholia than in that of normal grief. In melancholia the relation to the object is no simple one: it is complicated by the conflict of ambivalence."[322] Instead of offering the historicist "grasping" of the totalizing image, Kawada's *hinomaru* is a continuously open wound.

[321] Eng, David L., and David Kazanjian. *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*. University of California Press, 2003, 4.

[322] Freud, Sigmund. "Mourning and Melancholia," in *Collected Papers, Volume 4*. First Edition edition. Basic Books, 1959, 152-170. 155, 167.

4.4 The Perpetual Ruin: The 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the Excising of History

Within the category of disparate photographs that comprise *Chizu*'s third category of the "signs of the present," there is a shared undercurrent of violence and collapsed temporality. From the image of Yoshinobu-chan and its relationship to the mediated experience of violence in 1960s Japan, to the *hinomaru*'s palimpsestic, melancholic memory of political unrest, the final category of *Chizu'*s photographs begins to suggest an attempt at mapping conflated time, marked specifically by the way in which violence (either individual, military, or political) is the thread that pulls them together. In this final section, I introduce another potential component of the "signs of the present," already prefigured as a bridge between the past and the present by dint of their existence as consciously-forgotten ruins: Kawada's military fortress photographs (Figures 86-89). These photographs share aesthetic qualities with the Kawada's "stain" photographs of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Atomic Bomb Dome through the fact of their abstracted, textural architectural surfaces, but in their symbolic role as ruins they reveal an entirely different significance for *Chizu*'s atlas, especially when contextualized within the preparations for Tokyo's hosting of the 1964 Olympics.

Tokyo was awarded the Olympics in May 1959, and massive architectural, infrastructural, design, and urban development projects were immediately undertaken, resulting in the construction of the Tōkaidō Shinkansen bullet train line, an eventual monetary investment of more than 80 million USD (for 1964), and a city of Tokyo that appeared to be constantly under construction.[323] As Aso Noriko writes, "Once the IOC's decision was announced,"

> the Japanese government made Herculean efforts toward improving the mass transportation and sewage systems, as well as athletic facilities, so that they might "make the grade" by international standards. Moreover, ordinary citizens were asked not only for their patience in the midst of massive construction but for

[323] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 146.

> their active participation in clean-up campaigns, observance of new policing restrictions, and even help in footing the bill through government-sponsored lotteries.[324]

For the Ikeda government, the stakes of the 1964 Olympics were much higher than simply "making the grade" in terms of infrastructure. It was a widely held opinion that the Olympics would be one final test and metric of evaluation for Japan's postwar recovery. The games offered the opportunity for Japan to present to the international community its "postwar image as peaceful, democratic, and unified [...] *Culture*—a blanket word for such virtues—figured prominently in the Japanese government's publicity package for the Olympics, an ostensibly safe theme that nevertheless was shaped by and contributed to political forces of the time."[325]

In addition to the keyword of "culture," ideas about what the Olympics could showcase in terms of its postwar "modernity" were also of major concern for officials on the planning committee and other associated ministries. This modernity included concepts about hygiene, transportation accessibility, aesthetics, and internationalism, but it also crucially was about—as Christian Tasgold argues—carving out troublesome historical realities that could potentially mar the idealized goal. Tasgold writes in his study of architectural plans for the Olympic park that the executed plan incorporated:

> symbolic layers of architecture and space aimed at linking history and modernity while bypassing the highly problematic legacy of ultra-nationalism and World War II. An important hub for transmitting this message was the Meiji Shrine dedicated to the first emperor of modern Japan. The hallmark building of the 1964 Games, Kenzo Tange's

[324] Aso, Noriko. "Sumptuous Re-Past: The 1964 Tokyo Olympics Arts Festival." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 10, no. 1 (March 1, 2002): 7–38, 15.

[325] Aso, "Sumptuous Re-Past," 7. For more on the diplomatic goals of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics see: Abel, Jessamyn R. "Japan's Sporting Diplomacy: The 1964 Tokyo Olympiad." *The International History Review* 34, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 203–20.

> [sic] National Gymnasium, interacted with the shrine by way of an architectonic axis connecting them. This contrasted with the different spatial styles evident at the 1960 Olympics in Rome and 1972 Olympics in Munich, which testified to their different relationships to the national past. While developing infrastructure such as canalization and traffic was very important for Tokyo, symbolic revitalization of the city's fabric was equally crucial.[326]

Tasgold argues that the two choices of 1) spatially linking the Olympic Park to the grounds of the Meiji Emperor's shrine, and 2) having Tange Kenzō as architect for the National Gymnasium allowed 1960s Japan to present itself as reclaiming the initial ideals of the prewar era. Spatially relating the Olympic grounds to the Meiji Shrine in Shinjuku's Yoyogi Park presented a conceptual relationship between the idealization of the Meiji period as the "beginning of modernization and industrialization" and the postwar present,[327] without the visible interruption of the Pacific War. Similarly, Tasgold continues, Tange was a link between Tokyo and Hiroshima: Having been the architect for the major structures of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, he and his designs stood as a symbolic marriage of modernity and a "peace-oriented" future.[328] The Olympics, says Tasgold, "were not simply about denying or forgetting the past; they were as much about finding the right track to fulfilling the promises of modernity which had been lost from sight during the ultra-nationalist era."[329] The choice of the final torch bearer for the opening ceremonies followed a similar symbolic logic. Nicknamed the "Atomic Boy" (*genbakkuko*), nineteen-year-old Sakai Yoshinori was a track-and-field athlete who had

[326] Tagsold, Christian. "Modernity, Space and National Representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964." *Urban History* 37, no. 2 (August 2010): 289–300, 289.

[327] Tagsold, "Modernity, Space and National Representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964," 292.

[328] For more on the role of peace-culture and peace-activism in the context of Hiroshima and the *hibakusha* community, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[329] Tagsold, "Modernity, Space and National Representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964," 294.

been born 40 miles from the epicenter of the Hiroshima blast on August 6, 1945. His "slender," powerful, "aesthetically pleasing" body was the focus of the reporting on his selection, and as Igarashi Yoshikuni notes, he symbolized "the rejuvenating power of youth" who "easily leaped over the preceding nineteen years of postwar history."[330]

Igarashi similarly analyzes preparations for the Olympics that sought to erase, or at least minimize, other recent histories that could be antithetical to the goals of those in charge of Olympic planning—arguing that although there had been millions of bodies protesting in the streets during the spring of 1960, as a whole they could not hold out long against more powerful narratives of economic progress and urban reconstruction. "The body that enabled the physical expression of political oppositions," he writes, "was ironically caught in the matrix of rational production in the early 1960s."[331] More importantly for Igarashi, the disruptive bodies in the streets also gave way to the transformations of urban environment and citizenhood ahead of the 1964 Olympics. While the sometimes-literal whitewashing of the streets of Tokyo in preparation for the events did not attempt to completely erase memory or reflection of Japan's rapid growth and recovery since 1945, the "memories of destruction that haunted postwar Japan were admitted into the Olympic arena insofar as they anchored a narrative of recovery from August 1945 [...] sufferings before 1945 were transformed into necessary conditions for the 1960s recovery."[332] As with Sakai, the inherent athleticism of the event itself also cleared the way for the metonymic body of the Japanese citizen to be shifted from the "monstrous bodies" of the recent past (the injured veteran, the malnourished child, the scarred *hibakusha*) to the "healthy, aesthetically

[330] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 154-155.

[331] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 143.

[332] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory,* 145.

pleasing" bodies of the present moment, and the hopeful future.[333]

The national and Tokyo municipal governments also implemented projects that strived to accomplish these ideals of a modernity that was "peaceful, democratic, and unified" through more everyday and pedestrian means. Sewer systems close to the municipal areas associated with the Olympic Games were renovated and retooled (although the Sumida River remained massively polluted), and a series of measures known as the *kankyōjōka katsudō* ("environment-cleaning activities") were put into practice by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department.[334] These measures included crowd control (especially of potentially boisterous young people), an increase in required levels of brightness of businesses and streetlights (particularly at night), crackdowns on illegal trash, construction, public urination, the visibility of the homeless population and "*shisōteki henshitsusha* or 'thought perverts,' in an effort, which many described as 'war-like,' to present Japan to foreign visitors in the best light possible."[335]

Artistic intervention of this period (usually taking the form of embodied performance art) increasingly and obviously mocked the campaigns for hygiene and cleanliness: the avant-garde group Hi Red Center (of which Akasegawa Genpei of the 1,000 Yen note affair was a member) complicated the passive acceptance of the "bright and crime-free town" (*hanzai no nia akraui machi*) initiatives when they took to the streets of Ginza, Tokyo dressed in white lab coats and armed with sponges, brooms, toothbrushes, and bullhorns for their "Campaign for the Promotion of Sanitation and Order in the Capital, aka Ultra-Cleaning Event" (*Shutoken seisō seiri sokushin*

[333] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 154.

[334] Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 151.

[335] Nettleton, Taro. "Hi Red Center's Shelter Plan (1964): The Uncanny Body in the Imperial Hotel." *Japanese Studies* 34, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 83–99, 85-86.

undō) in October of 1964 (Figure 85), during the first week of the Olympic games.[336] During this event, the members of Hi Red Center got down on their hands and knees to scrub ferociously at small patches of sidewalk, brush and scrub at unsuspecting passersby, and shout slogans.

William Marotti and Alexandra Monroe both argue that this action was one of the last to survive the impact of increasing political and punitive police pressure on inventive public forms of critique and perceived unruliness in 1964. As Monroe states:

> [I]n early 1964 the Yomiuri Newspapers announced that its annual exhibition [the avant-garde-associated *Yomiuri Indépendant*] would be discontinued, citing that its initial goal of fostering new talent had been achieved. The move to control riotous tendencies reflected the government and media's exploitation of the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics as an occasion to usher in a positive "beyond postwar era" defined by the exemplary twin miracles of high economic growth and a vast, prosperous middle class.[337]

Marotti concurs: "The end of the *Yomiuri Indépendant* fit a general pattern in the early 1960s of government-instigated pressure to tidy up symbols that detracted from its presentation of a Japan reborn. This became increasingly oppressive as the Olympics drew near, the event that was to symbolize Japan's triumphant emergence from under the clouds of wartime and reconstruction, standing on its own as a showcase of U.S.-sponsored modernization."[338] Top-down efforts to mobilize monetary, bodily, and media resources toward the goal of presenting Japan's postwar modernity as sanitized, bright, unified, and modern can be seen as successful at least through the eyes of the foreign press, whose dispatches from Tokyo included statements like, "the ordinary Japanese is helping to project the friendly image for which Japan has been

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[336] Tomii, "State v. (Anti-) Art," 158.

[337] Munroe, Alexandra. "Morphology of Revenge: The Yomiuri Independent Artists and Social Protest Tendencies in the 1960s," in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams / Yokohama Museum of Art, 1996, 159.

[338] Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines*, 198.

yearning in the years since World War II. From this point of view, the Tokyo Olympics have undoubtedly been a huge success for Japan already," and "the arenas, in nearly every one of the 20 sports, have approached new heights of architectural imagination and efficiency. In the press centre the journalists look blankly over their typewriters at each other. They still feel stunned as they try to pay tribute."[339] What of Japan's past that *was* consciously foregrounded, most especially through the accompanying Olympic Arts Festival, was equally crafted with care to marry the slippery concept of "tradition" with modernity, preferring to replicate the canon of displayed works (*netsuke*, textiles, Buddhist sculpture, teawares, folk craft, *Yamato-e* painting) from the pre-existed leger of Meiji-era National Treasures, with an additional smaller component of 1960s photography and modern art—once again excising the years of military aggression and Imperialism from the picture.[340]

In *Chizu*, Kawada presents evidence of the exact history that these hygienic, architectural, and infrastructure projects sought to carve out. The preference for clean, scrutinized, and athletic bodies as studied by Igarashi (and critiqued contemporaneously by other Hi Red Center events like *Shelter Plan*),[341] the smooth architectural transition from Meiji-to-postwar modernity posited by Tagsold, and the way in which Marotti and Monroe link police crackdowns to the inevitable yet hurried end of the *Yomiuri Indépendant* project all reveal a tendency for a series of overarching narratives that deliberately shied away from the scarred, the diachronic, and the ugly. Inside his 1965 atlas, however, Kawada inserts several photographs of precisely that: defaced, dirty, crumbling ruins of World War II military fortresses that line the shores of Tokyo Bay in

[339] Abel, "Japan's Sporting Diplomacy," 216. These quotes are from reports for *The New York Times* and *The Times* (London), respectively.

[340] Aso, "Sumptuous Re-Past," 20.

[341] See: Nettleton, "Hi Red Center's Shelter Plan (1964)," 83–99.

sites such as Sarushima, the abandoned tunnels at Tateyama, the Taibusamisaki fort and pillboxes, and the Susaki batteries in Chiba (Figures 86–89).

These fortress photographs were initially presented in Kawada's 1961 Fuji Photo Salon exhibition as their own separate category, "section A." They were also the photographs that caused Kimura Ihee to ruminate on their figural emptiness and haunted fullness, by quoting the 17th-century poet Bashō's *hokku* poem: "*natsugusa ya / tsuwamonodomo ga / yume no ato*" ("Summer grasses— / traces of dreams / of ancient warriors.")[342] In this poem, the visitors to the site of Hiraizumi link the peaceful moment of the present with the location's bloody, violent past.[343] And while the fortress photographs were initially intended (within the context of the exhibition) to represent something conceptually closer to the *kinenbutsu* category of "memorial goods" and the other ghostly objects of World War II and the atomic bomb, I argue in line with Kimura's poetic response that they can also make an incisive critical gesture against hegemonic 1960s narratives of recovery and peace, precisely because their presence (in real life and within the photobook) refuse to let the temporal topography of Tokyo and its environs be released from its wartime past.

The modernity of the Olympic Games—represented by athletic bodies, clean cities, and historically evasive architectural relationships—here in *Chizu* is rebuffed by another, older modernity that had been deliberately extracted. The military fortress ruins represent the industrialization, militarization and modernity of the Meiji period grown into the full teleological bloom of wartime Japan. Kawada photographs them as hulking, grimy, scraped-up expanses, only differentiated from the stains of the Hiroshima A-Bomb Dome through the suggestion of more variable, less iconic architecture (Figure 86, 88) and the suggestion of graffiti (Figure 87).

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[342] Nobuo et al., "*Mondai saku wo erabu,*" 174; Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 110.

[343] See footnote 133 of Chapter 2 for a more detailed description of the site of Hiraizumi.

Chizu, as a temporal cartography of 1965, refuses the Olympic-era narratives that Japan's economic success and its postwar modernity, could be separated in any way from the forms and functions of its "other" modernity, that which functioned during the war.

More than anything, the role of the fortress ruins in *Chizu* solidifies a growing sense of visual equivalency regardless of subject or category. Whether atomic stain, or neon sign, detritus of postwar industry, Imperialist symbol, *Tokkōtai* pilot, Coca-Cola bottle, television screen, mediated image of a murdered child, or military fort—all subjects are rendered with the same aesthetic of degradation, collapse, and cellular decay. This is a significant component of Kawada's photographic project, one that suggests that any functional "use" of this temporal atlas to seek orientation will eventually lead one back into the past, or careening into the future, only to end up exactly where one started.

While *Chizu* makes no explicit visual reference to the street protests or the massive economic growth and urban redistribution that accompanied the preparation for the Olympics, the aesthetic and ontological equation of the "relics" of contemporary life, with the relics of the wartime, and with the stains of Hiroshima all gesture toward an existential suspicion of the national narratives and national machinations meant to quiet or downplay the signs of dissatisfaction, of violence, of a sense of a nation that was losing its way. Kawada's combination of the signs of the past with the signs of contemporary violence, economy, and nationhood are all equally ruins. In their visual equivalency, their perpetual crumbling is prefigured not as an arrested moment in time, but as a gesture towards the idea of time as an endless and existential cycle of questioning meaning. A looping cycle of signs not as affirmative renewal, but as cynical suspicion that wounds do not heal simply with the passage of the years, that memory does not fade simply because the moment has passed long ago, and that the untreated conditions of the

body physical and the body politic will fester, toxic and inextricable, unless wholly uncovered and brought to light.

Conclusion

In its most basic and neutered description, a map is a two-dimensional schematic of three-dimensional space and spatial relationships: it abstracts distance, elevation, and natural borders; it mobilizes symbols and legends to mark out geographic and manmade features. It is functional as an object of direction and orientation, and therefore legibility is paramount. It presupposes, or idealizes, a universality of language. In our contemporary moment, mapping is also now a concept that has reached far beyond the physical landscapes of our environment, used just as often to describe ways of schematizing relationships across social media platforms, the imagined spatiality of the internet, data usage, and IP address pings.

Of course, all cartographies contain within their schematic forms the long histories of political, religious, social, environmental, and economic power relationships, if they are not otherwise active instruments of forming and fomenting them. A truly neutral map, in all probability, does not exist. Mapping produces its own epistemological systems and layers them on top of the natural world: it imposes non-geographical borders, represents encompassing theological knowledge, and legitimates national expansionism and colonialism to those that would seek to claim other lands and resources for their own. And, no matter what is claimed or recognized as existing in a certain form of land, resource, or travel path within a given cartographic schematic, what is *omitted* or deliberately written out of a map is equally important in terms of transmitting knowledge about networks of historical power. For example, within the context of twentieth-century East Asia, scholars across many disciplines, such as David Fedman, John Trieber, and Soyoung Kim (among others), have argued that Imperial Japanese survey and cartographic triangulation projects in colonial Manchuria-Manchukuo were essential for

validation efforts that "reflected and promoted Japan's colonial authority in Korea and abroad," within politics, the economic flow of capital, and cultural production.[344]

In some ways, the diagramatic character of cartography both disguises and automatically reveals its relationship to expressing networks of power. As Gilles Deleuze argues for his cartographic reading of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*:

> The diagram is no longer an auditory or visual archive but a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the whole social field. It is an abstract machine. It is defined by its informal functions and matter and in terms of form makes no distinction between content and expression, a discursive formation and a non-discursive formation. It is a machine that is almost blind and mute, even though it makes others see and speak.[345]

He continues: "every diagram is intersocial and constantly evolving. It never functions in order to represent a persisting world but produces a new kind of reality, a new model of truth. [...] It makes history by unmaking preceding realities and significations [...] the modern societies that [Foucault] discusses in turn develop diagrams which exposed their relations between forces or the particular strategies."[346] That is to say, the schematizing of architecture, bodies, and public space renders these relationships into a form that presupposes a scientific neutrality in a kind of atemporal vacuum, when it fact the diagramatic abstraction actually "exposes" those unequal, dominating power relationships for what they are.

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[344] Fedman, David. "Triangulating Chōsen: Maps, Mapmaking, and the Land Survey in Colonial Korea | Cross-Currents." *Cross-Currents* 1, no. 2 (March 2012): 205–34, 205. See also: Treiber, John Karl. "Mapping Manchuria: The Japanese Production of Knowledge in Manchuria-Manchukuo to 1945." Ph.D., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2004; Kim, Soyoung. "Cartography of Catastrophe: Pre-Colonial Surveys, Post-Colonial Vampires, and the Plight of Korean Modernity." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 16, no. 2 (2011): 285–301.

[345] Deleuze, Gilles. *Foucault*. Translated by Sean Hand. 1st edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988, 30. For a more in-depth analysis of Deleuze as "cartographer" of Foucault's critical thought, see: Conley, Tom. "Mapping in the Folds: Deleuze 'Cartographe.'" *Discourse* 20, no. 3 (1998): 123–38.

[346] Deleuze, *Foucault*, 30-31.

Kawada Kikuji's version of a map—or atlas—can then be considered as a form of "counter-mapping," well before the term was ever coined and used in relationship to artistic production. Also known as "subversive mapping," or even "critical cartography," the origins of scholarly analysis of counter-mapping practices began with a 1990s environmental science study of vernacular efforts in Indonesian forest communities to reclaim their territory and its resources through "appropriation of the state's techniques and manner of representation."[347] Since then, the term has begun to be used in contemporary art practices for artists who are interested in mobilizing the language of cartography as a way to resist or subvert hegemonic power. The young Filipino artist Cian Dayrit, for example, exposes and expresses the history of colonialism of the Philippines and the broader South Asian archipelago through a series of works that deliberately co-opt the visual form of the maps of the Spanish Colonial Period (1521–1898) and the Catholic missionary projects, while inserting QR codes that lead to web-hosted theoretical treatises on Neocolonialism, articles about Rodrigo Duterte's extrajudicial killings, and online European museum archives boasting collections of archaeological and artistic objects from South Asia as stand-ins for the traditional cartographic legend (Figures 90-91).

However, Kawada's version of countermapping does not, on the visible surface at least, mobilize the visual language of cartography. The association is provided only through the photobook's title, and also more indirectly through the imagery suggested in Ōe Kenzaburō's accompanying poem and through the physical act of unfolding the leaves of the inner jacket and the *kannon-biraki* pages. *Chizu* is a different form of countermapping, not because it refuses to use the expected language of cartography as Dayrit's contemporary projects do—nor either just because it eschews it. Kawada's *Chizu* is instead a countermap because it attempts to be a

[347] Peluso Nancy Lee. "Whose Woods Are These? Counter-mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia." *Antipode* 27, no. 4 (May 29, 1995): 383–406, 384.

temporal atlas, choosing to insist on diachronic fluidity of narrative, image relationships, and the shifting role of photography in the creation of indexical truth.

As Iizawa Kōtarō recounts in his study of *Chizu* and Kawada's early work, memory and time are inextricably linked to Kawada's own understanding of how he first related cartography and nation:

> In the first article of *Nihon Camera's* September 1962 issue, the "Editorial Notebook," Kawada wrote about the creation of *The Map*, cited from his "Notes." According to this, "My interest in maps began during my schoolboy days." Because this was during the Second World War, every morning he would open a newspaper and see a map of the circumstances of the Japanese Army's positions and attacks. This was "Maps of Asia, Micronesia, Melanesia mostly all dyed the crimson of the Hinomaru." This was Kawada's prototypical image for "the map." [Says Kawada:] "In my childhood, all of the maps I saw were maps of war. ... from this time onward, whenever I gaze at a map, I freely rotate the form of it according to the power of my imagination." Here is the shadow of the war in the landscape of his series (Ōe Kenzaburō's important "violent things"), and it is therefore not a readymade map, but instead a map that we can see that he has determinedly tried to knit together from the expansive limits of his own power of imagination.[348]

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I posited that what was distinctive about the work of the VIVO-era photographers, Kawada included, was not necessarily a cohesive striving for subjective photography, but rather a more ambiguous instinct to start from a series of experiments or questions, rather than attempting photography that worked top-down: presupposed ideology determining the practice. In the case of Kawada, and more specifically with the case study of *Chizu*, it is clear now that as a document born of that kind of skeptical and experimental practice, the result is a deeply existential object, composed of a network of images that throw everything from national narrative, personal memory, and photographic ontology into a whirling eddy of uncertainty, double-meaning, and surrealist oscillation.

[348] Iizawa, "*Kawada Kikuji, Chizu,*" 91.

Chapter 1 argues that Kawada's move away from Domon Ken and the project of the photographic realism movement was also a move away from the strictures, or limits, of the perceived objectivity of that realism. However, this gradual move away from the dogma of realism did not necessarily result in a new dogma of subjectivity. Instead, it is clear that Kawada as the rest of the VIVO-associated photographers were all beginning their independent new projects from a subjective space of individual questioning: a seeking, or a "groping," as Kawada says. They worked not as a cohesive artistic movement, or as followers of one particular artistic ideology, choosing instead to frame their collective practice as a kind of agency-style workshop, with the emphasis on individual work that inspired one another. The primacy of their own subjectivity within the photograph was far less important than their questions, the existential yearning to document something underneath the surface layer of the photographic image, that guided their cameras.

The "stains" on the walls of Hiroshima's Atomic Bomb Dome first captured Kawada's cartographic imagination in this crucial time of exploration. As indexical markers of bodily trauma and symbolic accumulations of psychological trauma, Kawada recognized the potential of these stains to express something unique once captured in the photographic act, existing as they did within an iconic, "mnemonic" memorial architecture that was already stratified in layers of Japan's symbolic relationship to Western-style modernity.[349] As I argue in Chapter 2, Kawada's photographs of the stains are multi-layered indexical images—indexes of indexes—conflating the medium-specificity of photography with a violent and obliterating act. Instead of insisting on the indexicality of the stains as proof of photography's objective opticality, however, Kawada instead offers the potential of a tactile and haptic photography, furthered by the necessary physical interaction between the reader/viewer and the unfolding of the pages of the

[349] Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 69-70.

photobook. The marks of the stains are temporal *eizō* (images, theoretically distinct in the 1960s from *shashin*, or photograph), haunted echoes of the original photogram, which required the physical contact between the object and the surface to create the ghost of its image. And as atomic stains, the *shimi* are a metonym for the postwar Japanese experience of long-durée violence: radiation sickness, *hibakusha* discrimination, and the cognitive whiplash of the rapid transitions from wartime to Allied Occupation to post-Occupation eras.

In Chapter 3, I argue that *Chizu*'s category of the *kinenbutsu* ("memorial goods") stand in opposition to hegemonic narratives about ways that Japanese citizens were permitted to remember their own immediate past. The layering of imagery of the memorial detritus of the *Tokkōtai* pilots under and overneath bodily evidence of *hibakusha* pain (the keloid scar, the clump of irradiated hair) creates a visual equivalency and coexistence. I provide evidence that in postwar Japan narratives that memorialized, mourned, or even gestured at Japan's military past were rendered taboo, while the *hibakusha* narrative of suffering was permitted only inasmuch as it bolstered a journey of democratic recovery and anti-nuclear peace. The visual illegibility of these photographs is crucial, I argue. Their illegibility calls subtle attention to the complexity of remembering and mourning in postwar Japan, therefore pointing with suspicion at any other form of overarching narrative of the recent past that appears easily comprehensible, legible, and oversimplified.

In Chapter 4, I argue for the final category of *Chizu* as the "signs of the present," encompassing everything from media spectacle, capital and consumption, and symbols of nationhood in relationship to the tumultuous politics of the early 1960s. In this category of images, Kawada represents the contemporary moment of Japan as equally aesthetically degraded, equally ruined as the memorial objects of the past. In *Chizu*, the violence of the contemporary

moment—in particular, the spectacularization of media in relationship to the murder of Yoshinobu-chan, Prime Minister Kishi's increasingly authoritarian tactics, and the violence of the ANPO protests—is almost indistinguishable from the way in which memorial objects of the past recall their own violence. I argue through this that photographs like that of the crumpled *hinomaru* can be seen as punctuating *Chizu* as melancholic objects, resisting historicization and instead existing as open puncture wounds that connect all the way back to the violence of the war. These open wounds are also, I argue, perpetual ruins—which can be read more explicitly through Kawada's imagery of the wartime Tokyo Bay fortresses. I compare the fortress ruin photographs with the architectural, infrastructural, and social cleanliness projects conducted in preparation for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, projects that suggested in their own ways the erasure of the wartime period, creating instead a direct bridge from the Meiji period to the bright-lit, "peaceful, democratic, and unified" future of Japan.[350]

In concluding this contextualization and analysis of Kawada's *Chizu*, I found myself returning again to the sole photograph of actual cartography in the book: The image called "*Chūsei nihon*" ("Map of Medieval Japan") (Figure 63). Underneath the scrim of ghostly melted plastic, the geographic borders of Ortelius's 1595 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* coalesce and dissolve. As a page from one of the very first European atlases, it too represents in its own way a map of the imagination—a Western Renaissance imagination of exploration, scientific discovery, the accumulation of empirical knowledge. Its subtle "inaccuracies," like the complete omission of the northern Japanese island of Hokkaidō (it had not yet been discovered by the Dutch), betray this.

[350] Aso, "Sumptuous Re-Past," 15.

Layered on top, the openings of the translucent melted plastic and its warped grid lines begin to take on a suggestion of a different, fantastical cartographic imagination, too. The holes through which Ortelius's Japan can be glimpsed takes on a strange solidity, and rather than an absence they begin to appear more and more like the presence of some new and unidentifiable island. This oscillation is in some ways a distillation of *Chizu*'s project as a whole: attempting to present hegemonic narratives of power, knowledge, and meaning as suspect and open to critical inquiry through the language of photography alone. And, if the reader takes the two opposite ends of the *chūsei nihon* image in hand, reaching back behind the pages to flip the versos of each recto up and out, an unexpected four-page spread emerges (Figure 92). The occluded and mutated medieval map is now sandwiched between two truncated images, cut in half down their verticals by dint of being only one half of the *kannon-biraki*: On the left, the dark tangle of the irradiated hair of a *hibakusha*, and on the right, the tendrils of an old *furoshiki* wrapping cloth containing military artifacts—"Things left behind: Watch. Cartridges. Compass."[351] In Kawada's multisensory atlas of ambiguity and transformation, it is precisely these kinds of startling and perhaps unintentional collisions that reveal the potential of a photography that did not begin from an ideological dogma of realism, or even a rigorous insistence on the photographer's own subjectivity as guiding presence. Instead, in navigating through the archaeological and temporal layers of the photobook, Kawada invites us to find our own way.

[351] Kawada, "The Illusion of the Stain," 7.

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Illustrations

Figure 1. *Harper's Magazine*, December 2017. Cover photograph by Darrel Rees.

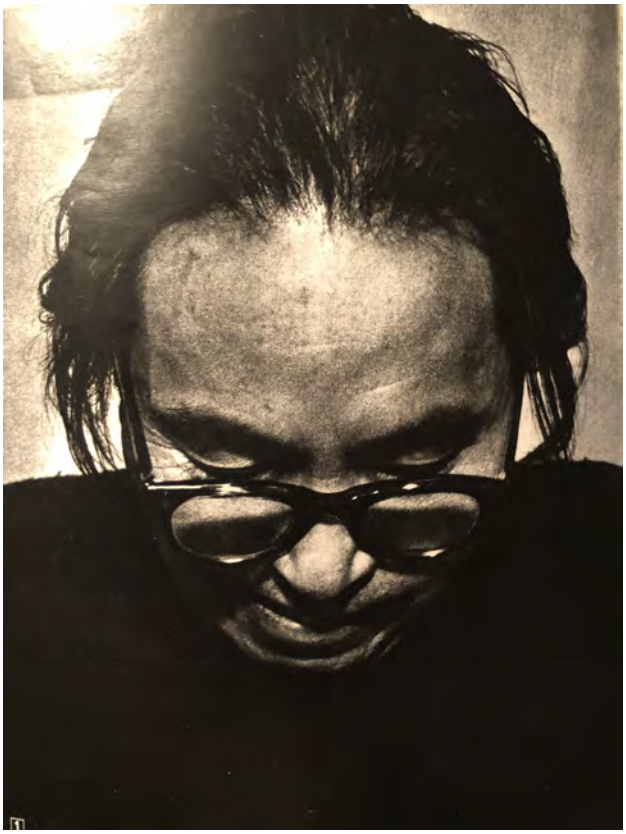
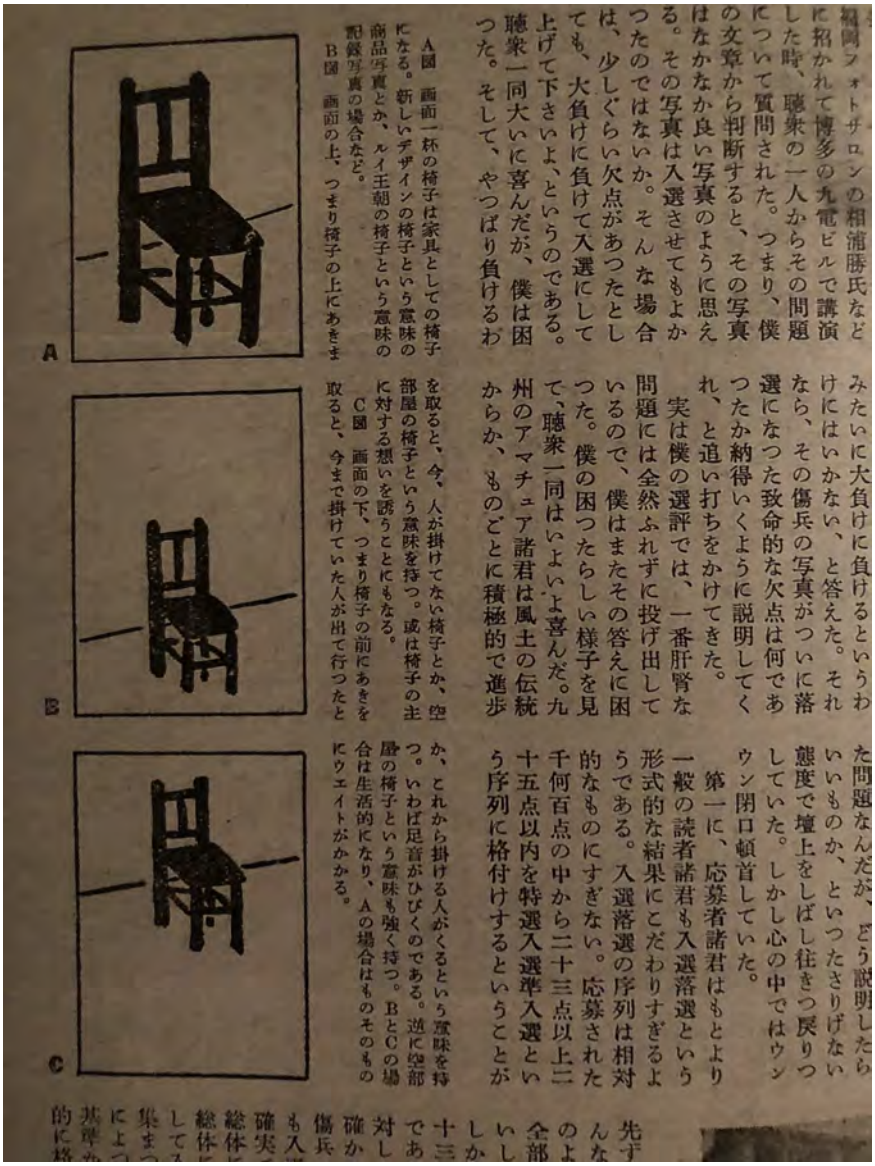


Figure 2. Kawada Kikuji, untitled photograph of Domon Ken, *Photoart*, April 1958



福岡フォトサロンの相浦勝氏など
に招かれて博多の九電ビルで講演
した時、聴衆の一人からその問題
について質問された。つまり、僕
の文章から判断すると、その写真
はなかなか良い写真のように思え
る。その写真は入選させてもよか
つたのではないか。そんな場合
は、少しぐらい欠点があつたとし
ても、大負けに負けて入選にして
上げて下さいよ、というのである。
聴衆一同大いに喜んだが、僕は困
つた。そして、やつぱり負けるわ
みたいに大負けに負けるというわ
けにはいかない、と答えた。それ
なら、その傷兵の写真がついに落
選になつた致命的な欠点は何であ
つたか納得いくように説明してく
れ、と追い打ちをかけてきた。
実は僕の選評では、一番肝腎な
問題には全然ふれずに投げ出して
いるので、僕はまたその答えに困
つた。僕の困つたらしい様子を見
て、聴衆一同はいよいよ喜んだ。九
州のアマチュア諸君は風土の伝統
からか、ものごとに積極的で進歩
た問題なんだが、どう説明したら
いいものか、といつたさりげない
態度で壇上をしばし往きつ戻りつ
していた。しかし心の中ではウン
ウン閉口頓首していた。
第一に、応募者諸君はもとより
一般の読者諸君も入選落選という
形式的な結果にこだわりすぎるよ
うである。入選落選の序列は相対
的なものにすぎない。応募された
千何百点の中から二十三点以上二
十五点以内を特選入選準入選とい
う序列に格付けするということが

A

A図　画面一杯の椅子は家具としての椅子
になる。新しいデザインの椅子という意味の
商品写真とか、ルイ王朝の椅子という意味の
記録写真の場合など。
B図　画面の上、つまり椅子の上にあきま

B

を取ると、今、人が掛けてない椅子とか、空
部屋の椅子という意味を持つ。或は椅子の主
に対する想いを誘うことにもなる。
C図　画面の下、つまり椅子の前にあきを
取ると、今まで掛けていた人が出て行つたと

C

か、これから掛ける人がくるという意味を持
つ。いわば足音がひびくのである。逆に空部
屋の椅子という意味も強く持つ。BとCの場
合は生活的になり、Aの場合はものそのもの
にウエイトがかかる。

Figure 3. Domon Ken, from "*Futatabi shōhei no shashin ni tsuite: Gamen no amasa to rearitē*," *Camera* 42, No. 8 (August 1953): 157.

Figure 4. Kawada Kikuji, Domon series *Oyako sendai*, *Photoart*, April 1958

Figure 5. Kawada Kikuji, Domon series *Satsuei-mae, Enchi Fumiko no shosai nite*, *Photoart*, April 1958

Figure 6. Kawada Kikuji, *Getsurei shinsa (Photoart nihonma nite)*, *Photoart*, April 1958

Figure 7. *FRONT* magazine, Nos. 1-2, 1942. Cover design by Hara Hiromu.

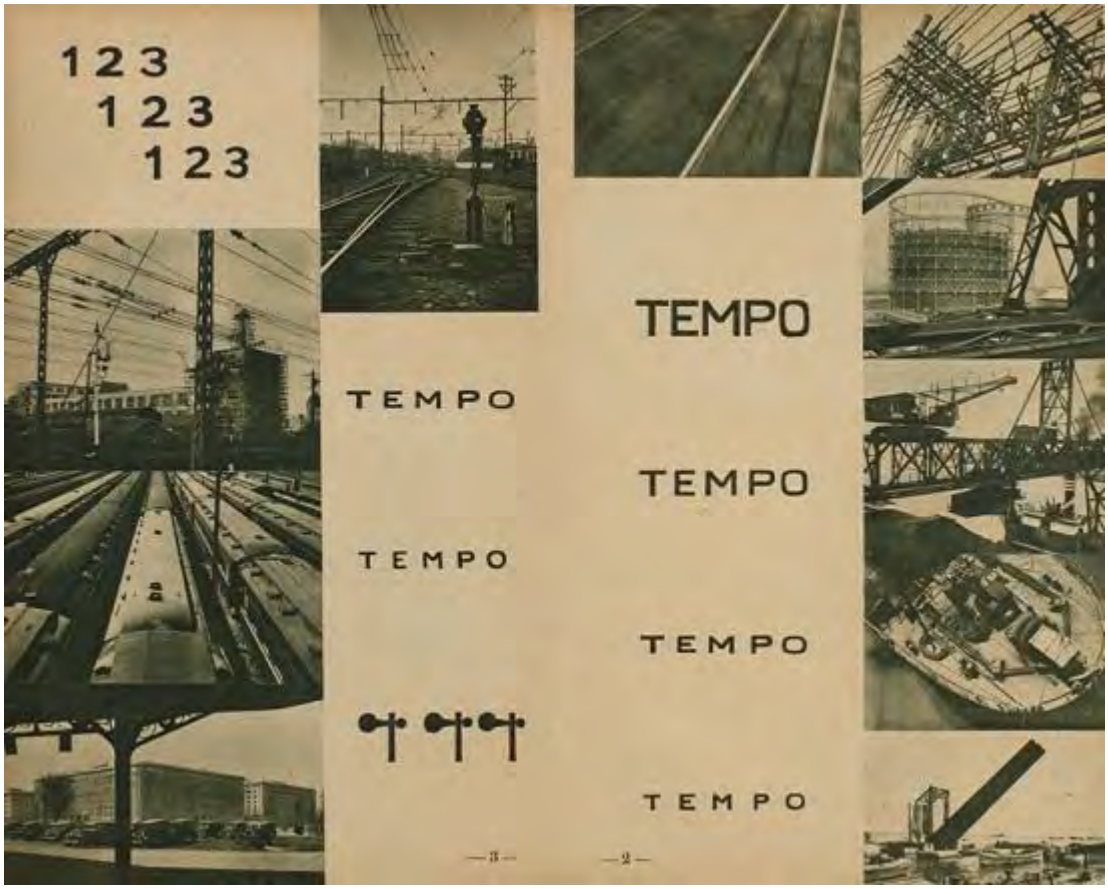


Figure 8. Horino Masao, *Dai Tōkyō no seikaku* [*The Greater Character of Tokyo*], Chuokoron-sha *October, 1931*

Figure 9. Tōmatsu Shōmei, “Untitled [Iwakuni],” from the series *Chewing Gum and Chocolate*, 1960.

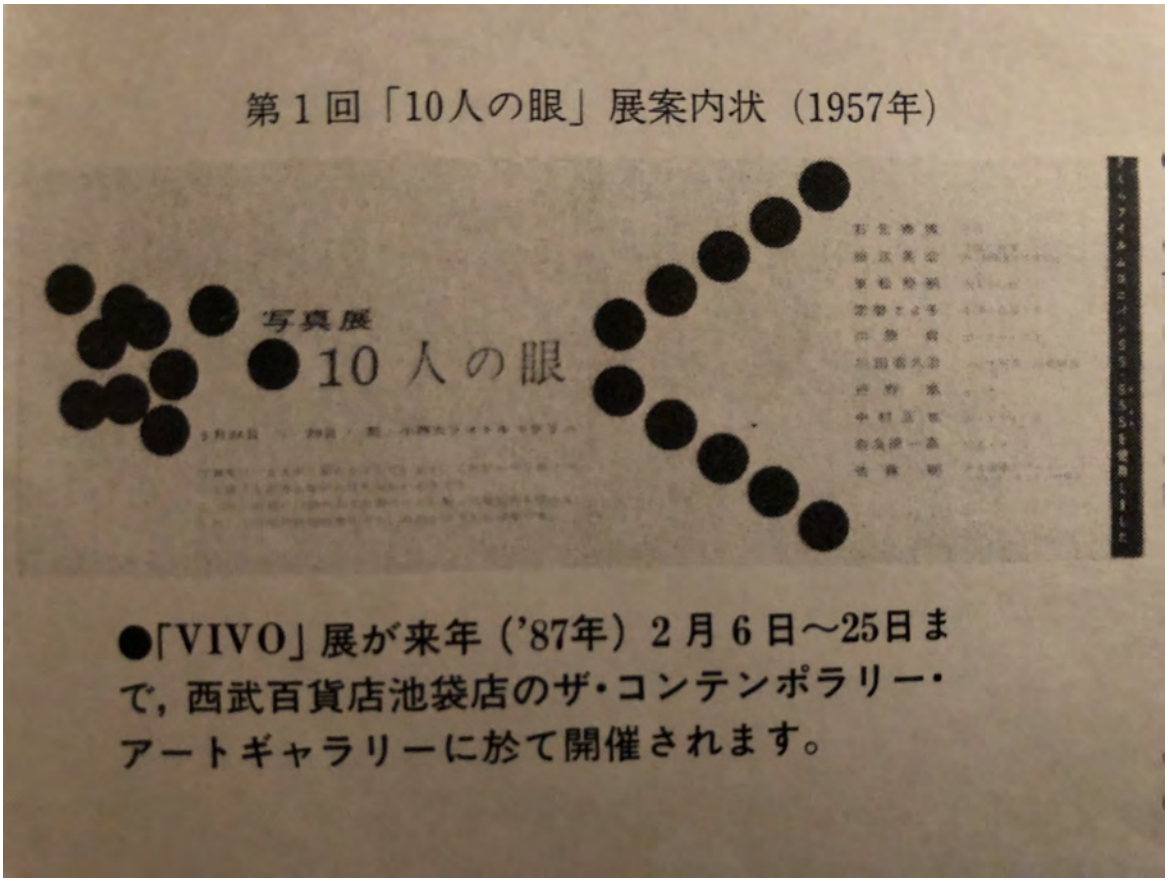


Figure 10. Invitation to first VIVO exhibition “The Eyes of Ten,” 1957. As reproduced in Kaneko Ryūichi, “From ‘The Eyes of Ten’ to ‘VIVO,’ The First Stage of Contemporary Photography,” in *Shashin no 1955-–1965: jiritsu shita eizouhan.* Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1991, pg 142.

Figure 11. Kawada Kikuji, *Eigo dake no puraka-do* ("English Placards") in *Children of Tachikawa Base* [*Tachikawa kichi no kodomotachi*], *Camera*, October 1953


Figure 12. Kawada Kikuji, *Otsukai no haha to kodomo* ("Mother and Child on an Errand") in *Children of Tachikawa Base* [*Tachikawa kichi no kodomotachi*], *Camera*, October 1953

Figure 13. Kawada Kikuji, *Dagashiya no mae* (“Outside the Candy Store”) in *Children of Tachikawa Base* [*Tachikawa kichi no kodomotachi*], *Camera*, October 1953

Figure 14. Kawada Kikuji, *Onna-tachi no iru michi* (“Women on the Street”) in *Children of Tachikawa Base* [*Tachikawa kichi no kodomotachi*], *Camera*, October 1953.

Figure 15. Kawada Kikuji, *Aru konketsuji* (“Mixed-race child”) in *Children of Tachikawa Base* [*Tachikawa kichi no kodomotachi*], *Camera*, October 1953

Figure 16. Kawada Kikuji, *May Day. Shinbashi.* 1953.

Figure 17. Kawada Kikuji, *The Citizens vs. Policemen, Shinbashi*. 1954.

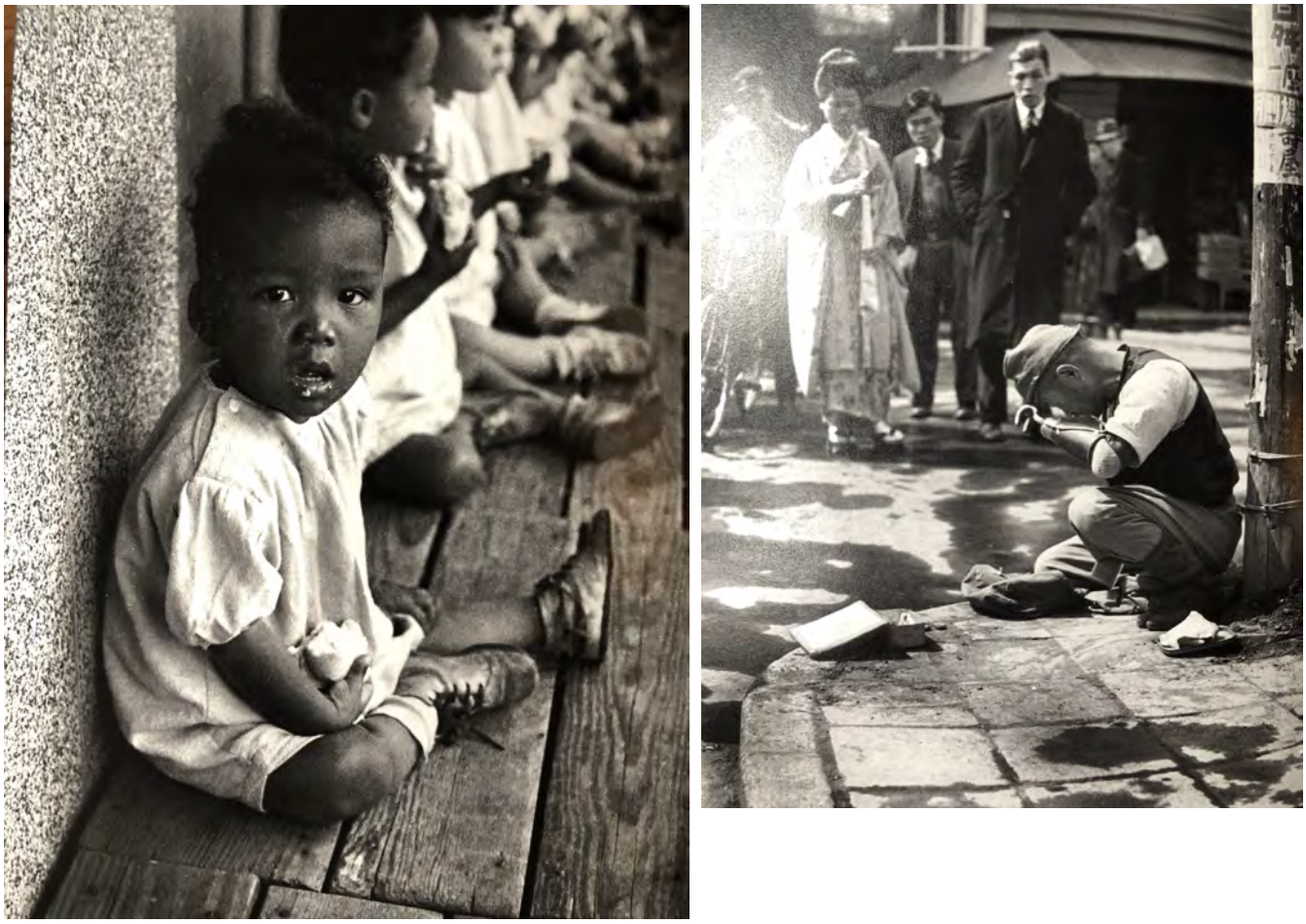


Figure 18. Kawada Kikuji, *Mixed Blood. Oiso*. 1953; *A Beggar*. *Ikebukuro*. 1953.

Figure 19. Kawada Kikuji, *At the Bar, Shinbashi*. 1952.

Figure 20. Kawada Kikuji, *Jack-in-the-Street, Ikebukuro*. 1954.

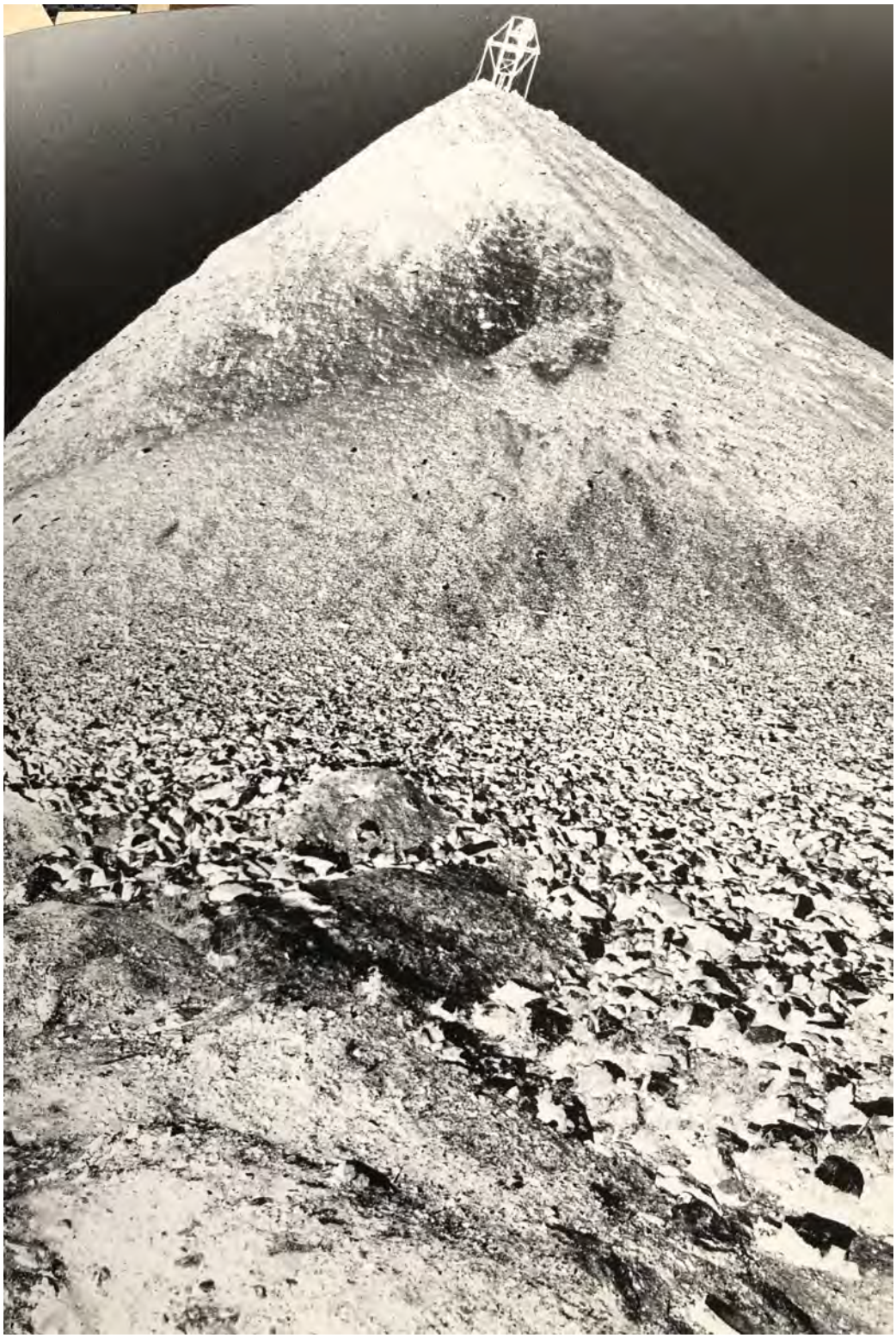


Figure 21. Kawada Kikuji, *Mine Lost*. *Kyushu*. 1960

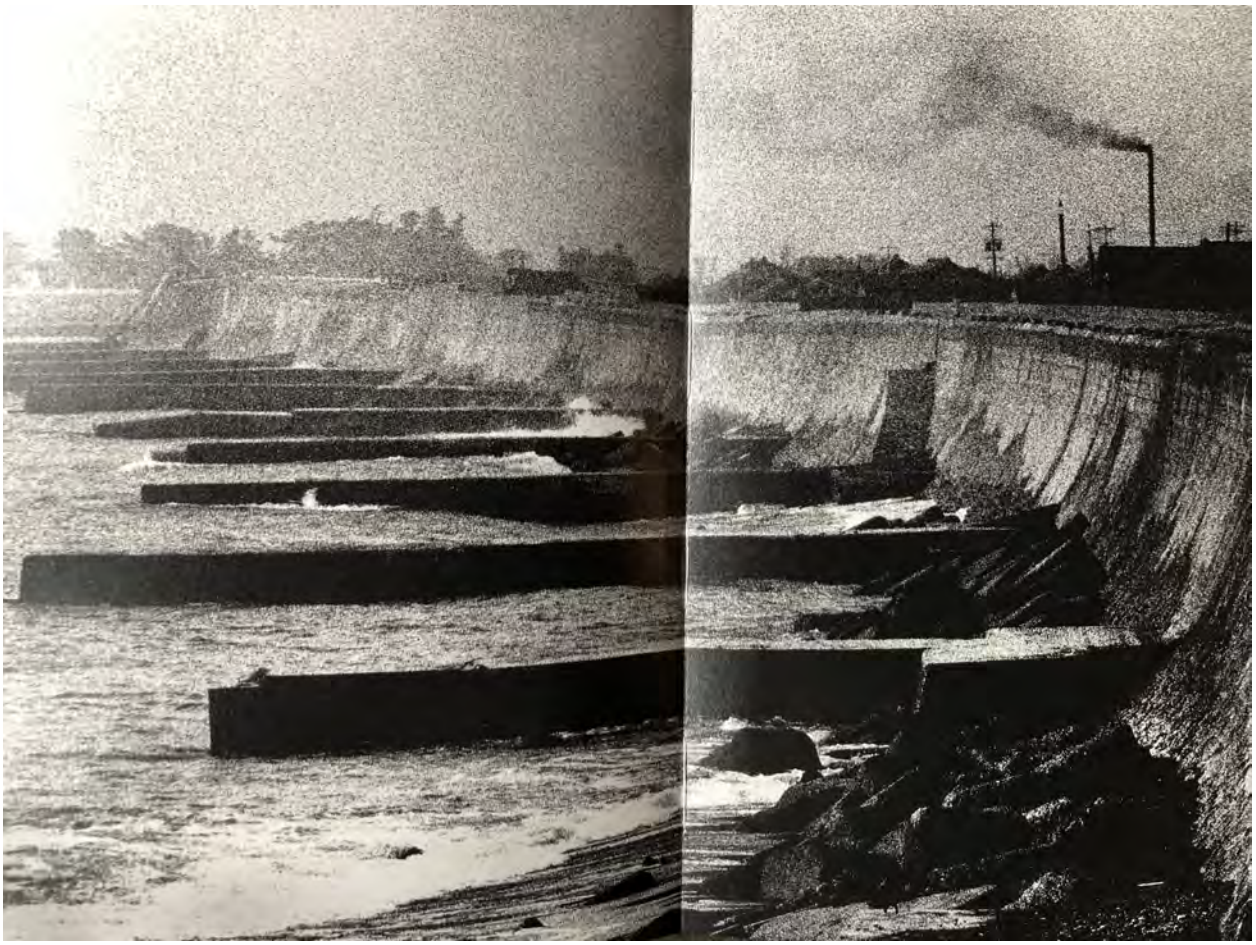


Figure 22. Kawada Kikuji, *Yaizu Scenery.* 1959.

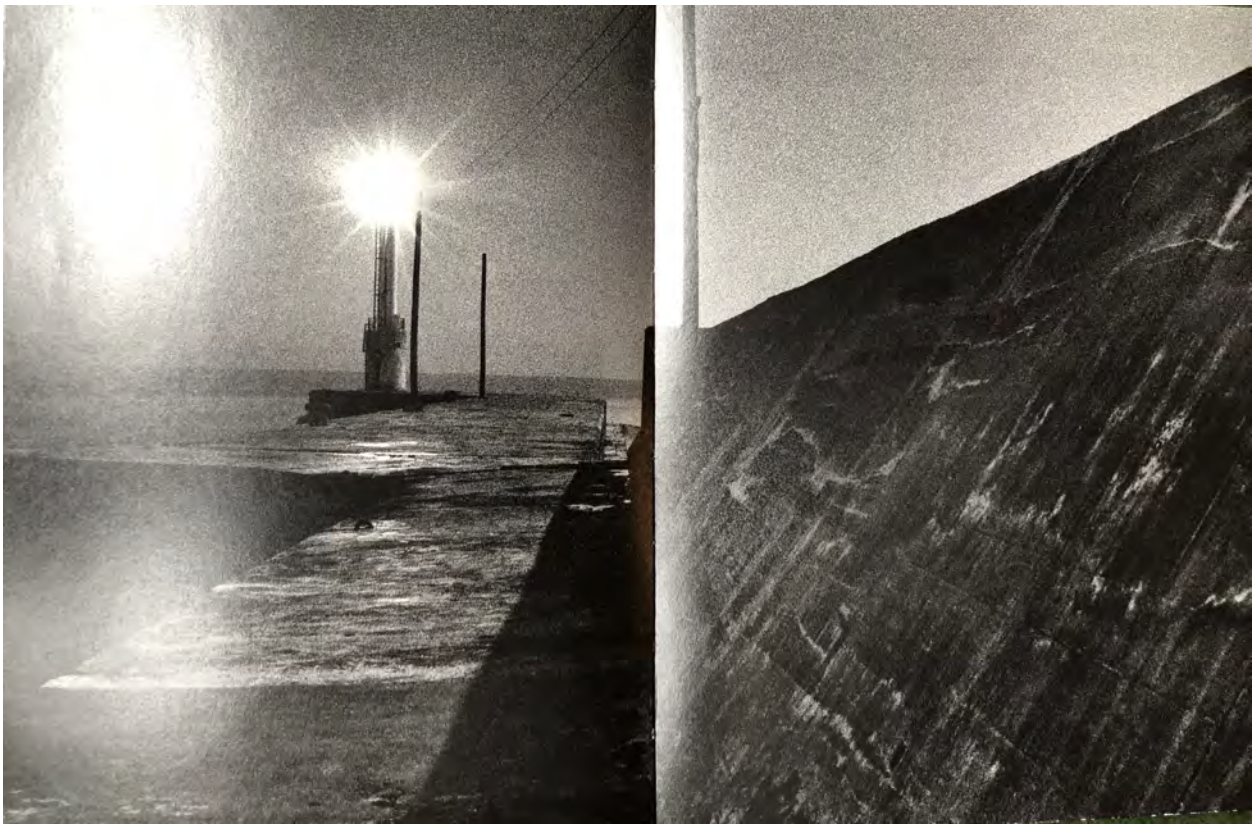


Figure 23. Kawada Kikuji, *Lighthouse. Yaizu Port*. 1959.

Figure 24. Kawada Kikuji, *Kuboyama's Wife and Daughter. Hamatoume, Yaizu*. 1959.

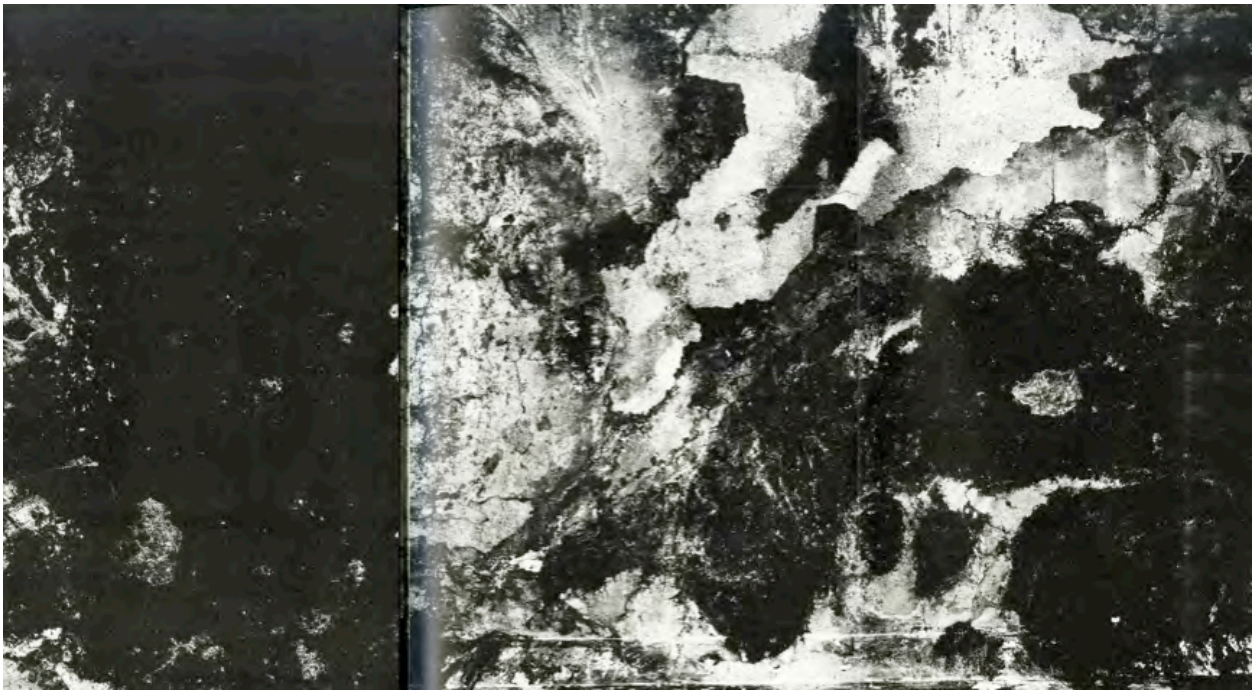


Figure 25. Kawada Kikuji, *Genbaku dōmu no kabe: shimi to hakuraku* [*Wall of the A-Bomb Memorial Dome: Stain, and Flaking Off*], from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

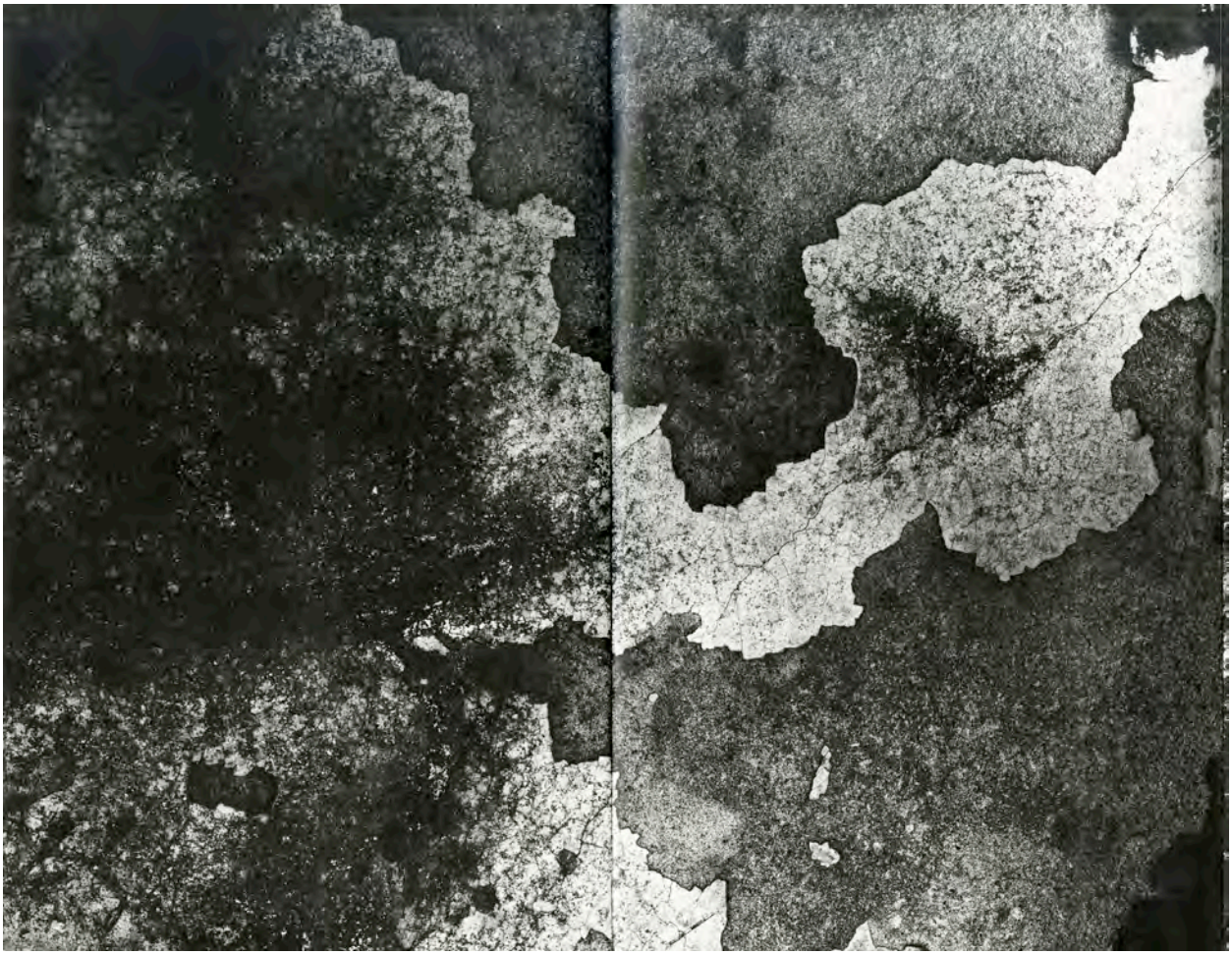


Figure 26. Kawada Kikuji, *Genbaku dōmu no kabe: shimi to hakuraku* [*Wall of the A-Bomb Memorial Dome: Stain, and Flaking Off*], from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 27. Kawada Kikuji, *Genbaku dōmu no kabe: shimi to hakuraku* [*Wall of the A-Bomb Memorial Dome: Stain, and Flaking Off*], from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

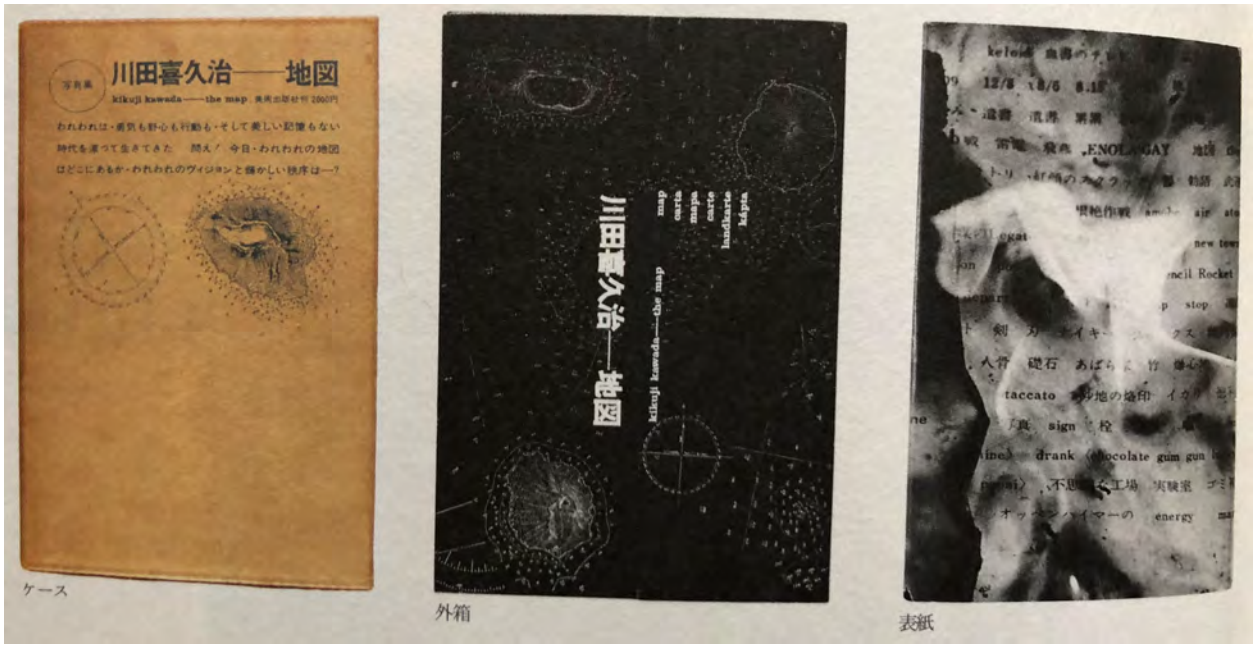
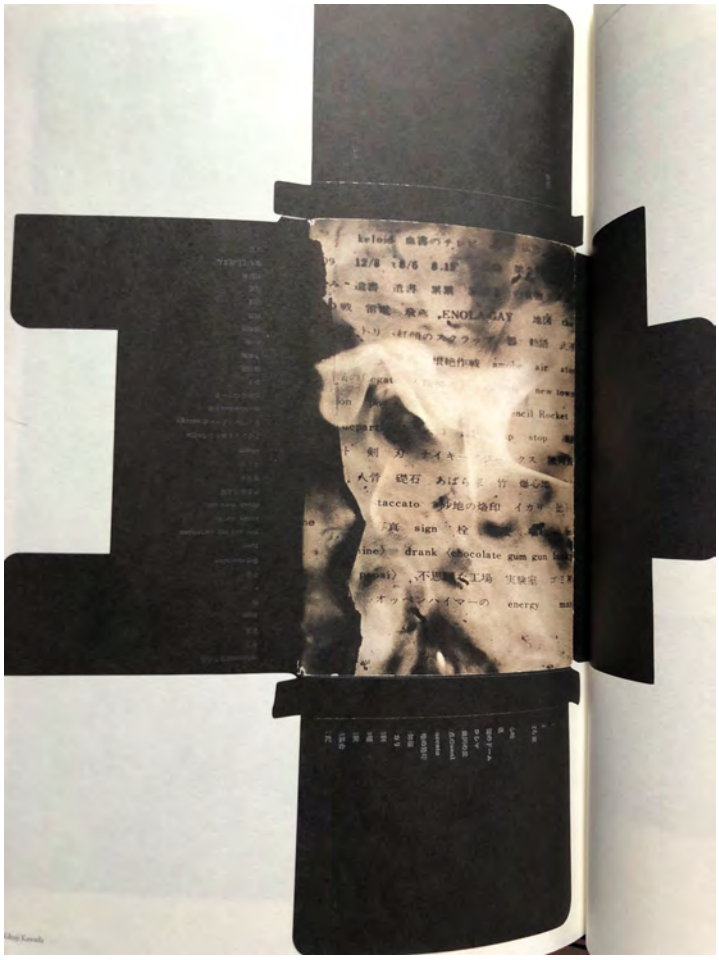
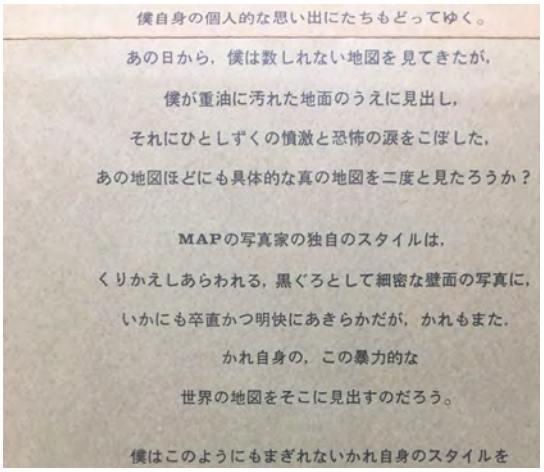


Figure 28. Kawada Kikuji and Sugiura Kōhei, outer jacket, outer cover, and inner cover (left to right) for *Chizu* [*The Map*] (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965). As reproduced in *Theatrum Mundi* (2003).

Figure 29. Kawada Kikuji and Sugiura Kōhei, outer jacket cover for *Chizu* [*The Map*], (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965).




僕自身の個人的な思い出にたちもどってゆく。
あの日から，僕は数しれない地図を見てきたが，
僕が重油に汚れた地面のうえに見出し，
それにひとしずくの憤激と恐怖の涙をこぼした，
あの地図ほどにも具体的な真の地図を二度と見たろうか？

MAPの写真家の独自のスタイルは，
くりかえしあらわれる，黒ぐろとして細密な壁面の写真に，
いかにも卒直かつ明快にあきらかだが，かれもまた，
かれ自身の，この暴力的な
世界の地図をそこに見出すのだろう。

僕はこのようにもまぎれないかれ自身のスタイルを

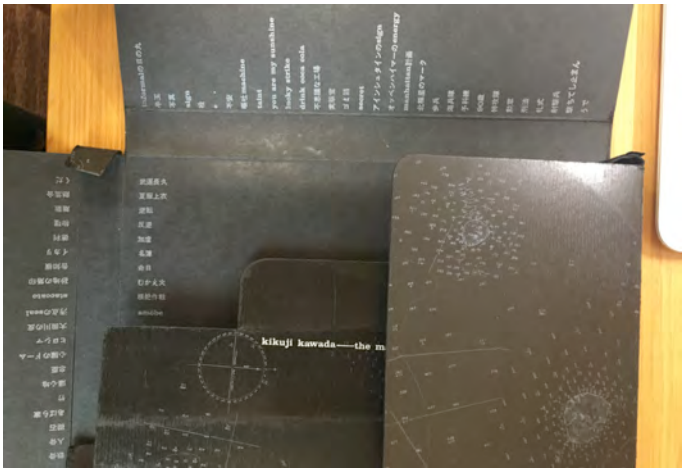


Figure 30. Kawada Kikuji and Sugiura Kōhei, outer cover for *Chizu* [*The Map*], (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965), unfolded, with poem insert by Ōe Kenzaburō. Upper left as reproduced in *Theatrum Mundi* (2003).

Figure 31. Kawada Kikuji and Sugiura Kōhei, innermost cover for *Chizu* [*The Map*], (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1965).

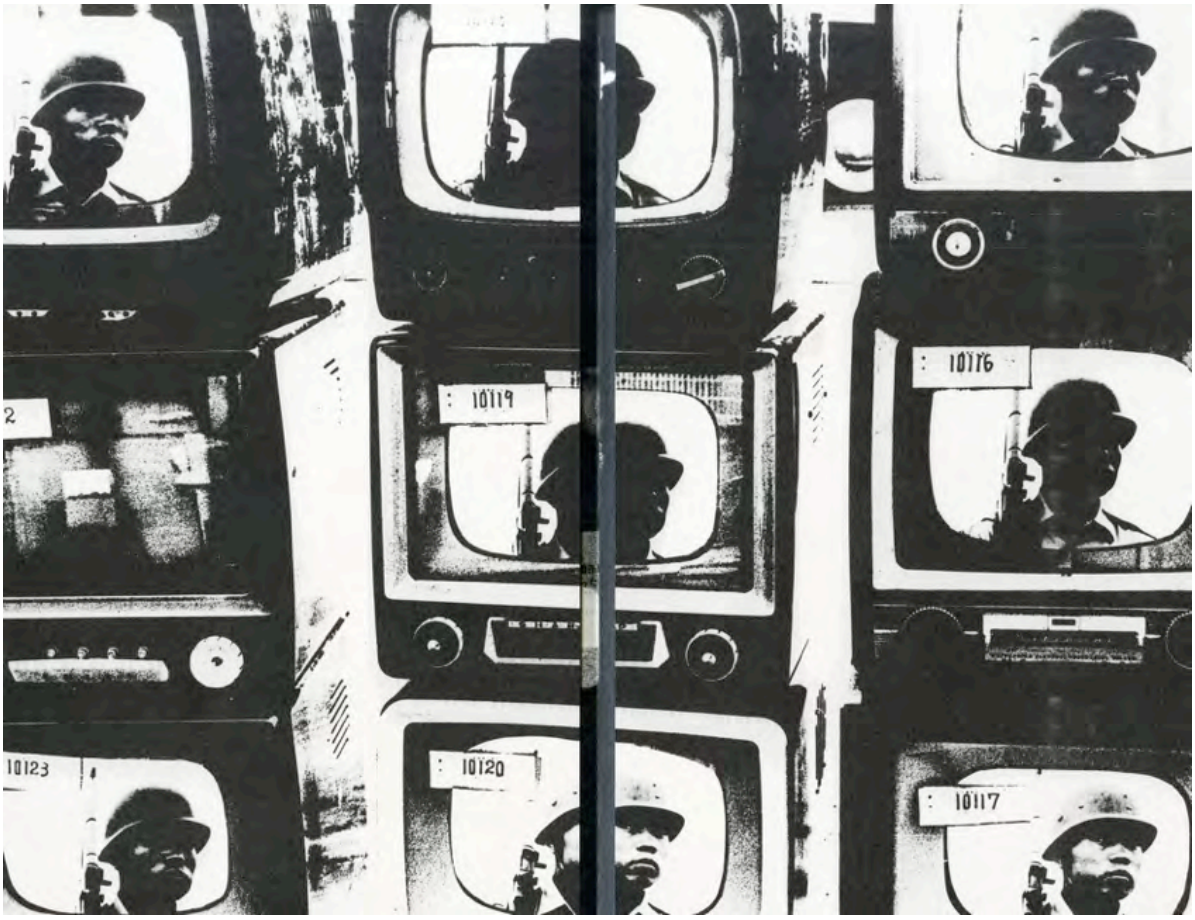


Figure 32. Kawada Kikuji, *TV and the Self-Defense Forces*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 33. Kawada Kikuji, *Lucky Strike*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

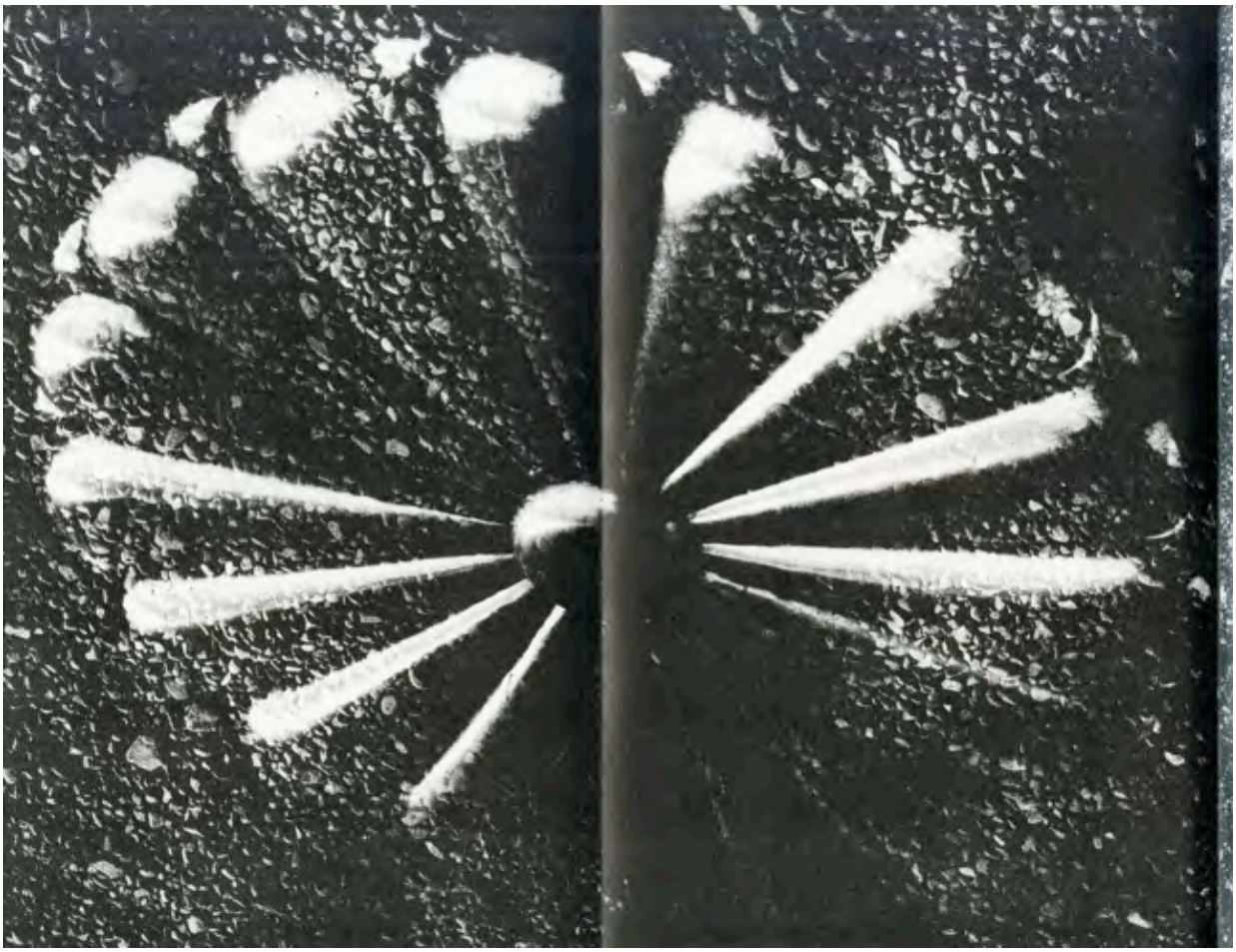


Figure 34. Kawada Kikuji, *The Imperial Crest of the Chrysanthemum*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

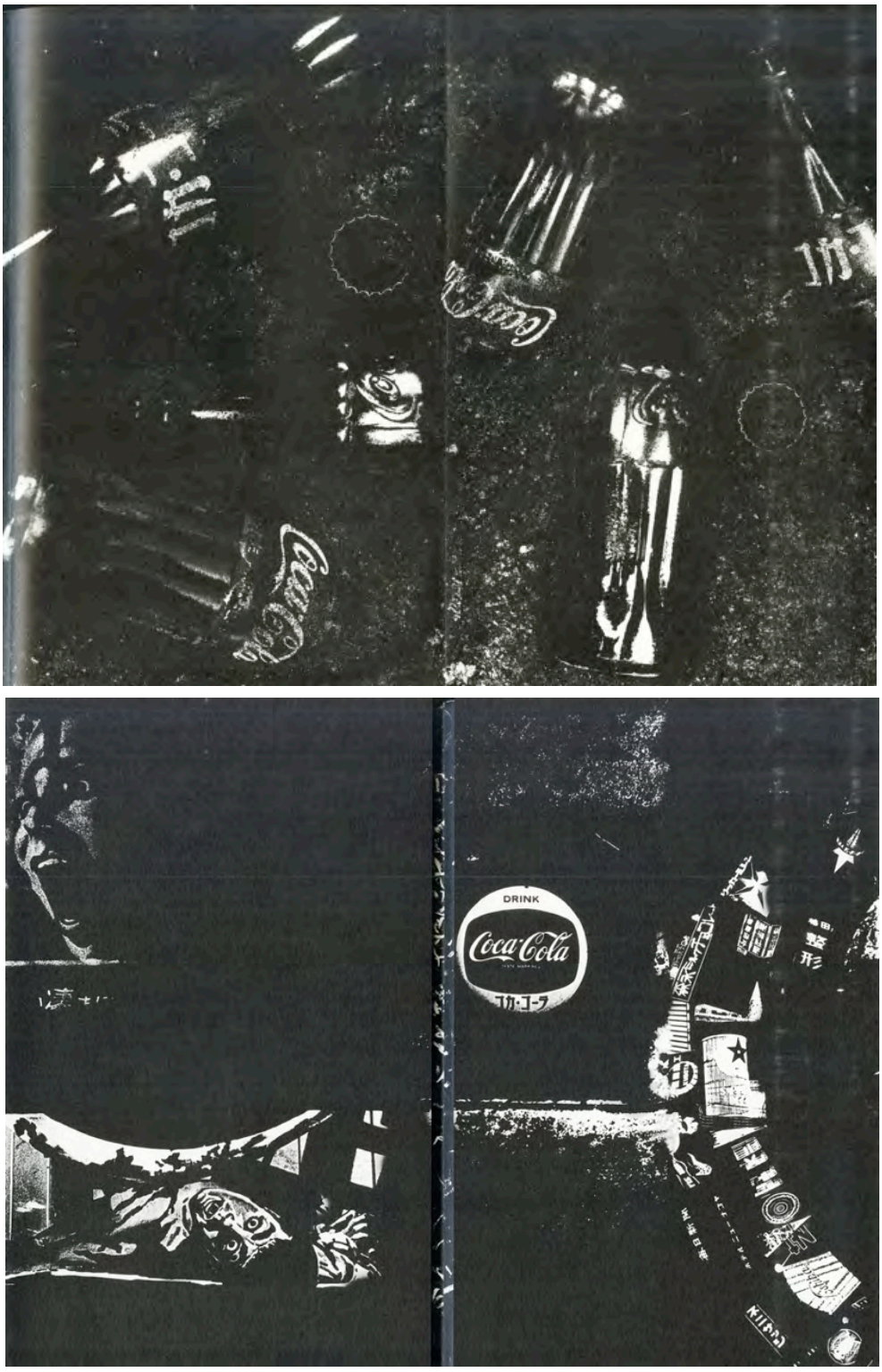


Figure 35. Kawada Kikuji, *Coca Cola* (upper) and *Advertisement of Movies and Neon Lights* (lower), from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 36. Kawada Kikuji, *Search Instructions. Montage Photo of 1,000 Yen Note Forger. A Kidnapped Boy*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

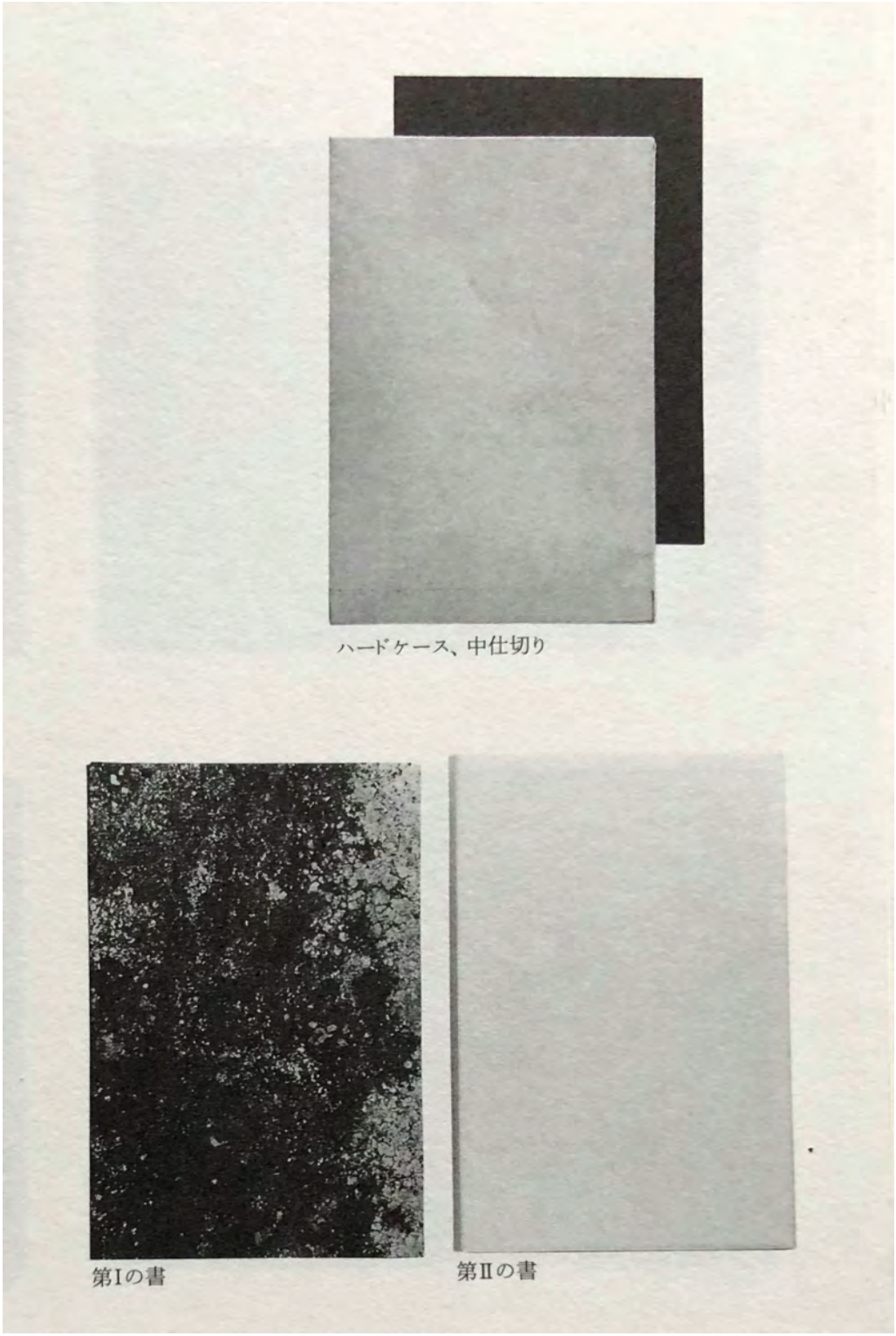


Figure 37. Kawada Kikuji and Sugiura Kōhei, cover of siamese volumes of maquette for *Chizu* [*The Map*]. As reproduced in Kawada Kikuji, Jimbo Kyoko et al., *Theatrum Mundi:Kikuji Kawada* (Tokyo: Tokyo Museum of Photography, 2003).

川田喜久治写真展「地図」の展示壁面（上から A, B, C, の順）

Figure 38. Review of Kawada Kikuji's *Chizu* exhibition at the Fuji Photo Salon, from "*Mondai saku wo erabu*" ["A Choice of Controversial Works"], *Asahi Camera*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Jan, 1962). Pg. 173.

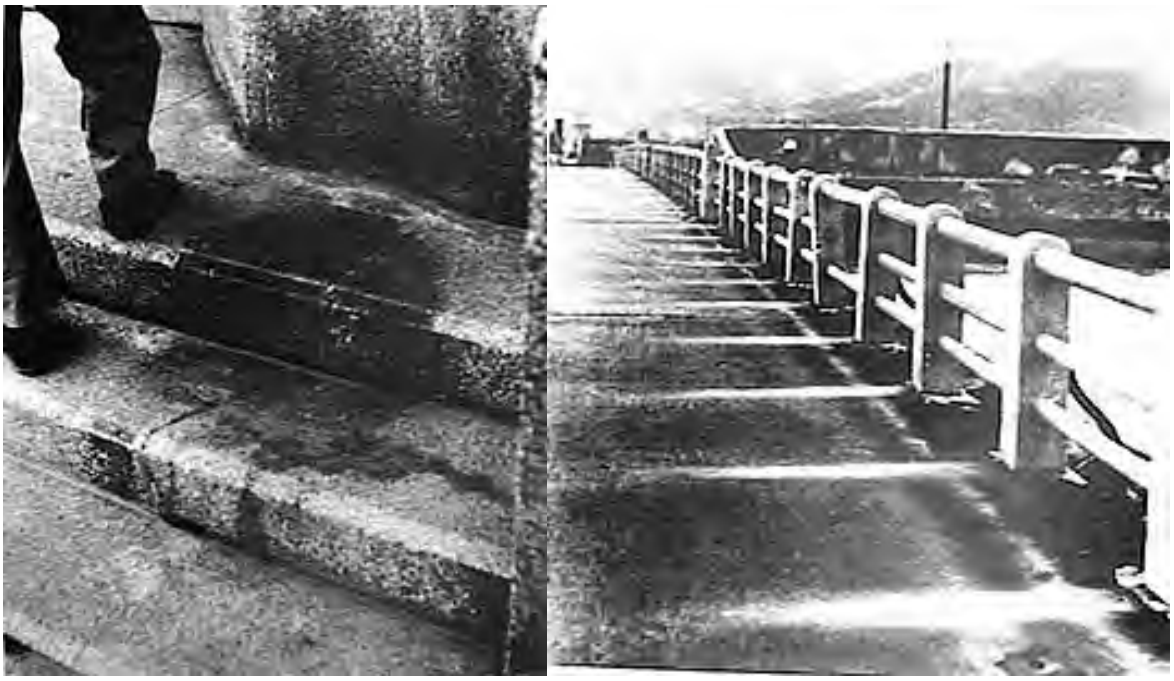


Figure 39. Atomic “shadows.” Hiroshima, August 1945. Via the Gensuikin photo archive

Figure 40. Naitō Masatoshi, selections from *Ba-Ba-Bakuhatsu!* [*Grandmother Explosion!*], 1968-1970, and from *Tōno Monogatari* [*Legends of Tōno*], 1971-1983

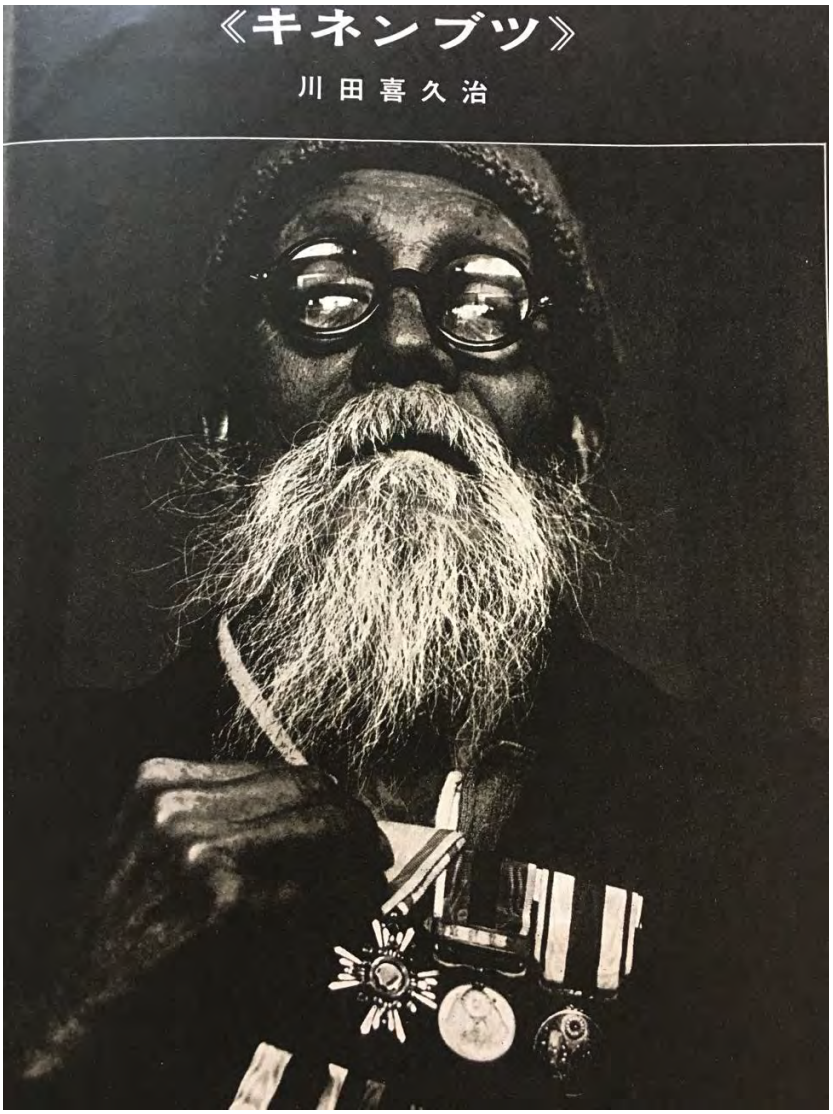


Figure 41. Kawada Kikuji, "*Kinenbutsu*" ["Memorial Goods"], *Photoart*, May 1963

Figure 42. Kawada Kikuji, "*Kinenbutsu*" ["Memorial Goods"], *Photoart*, May 1963

Figure 43. Kawada Kikuji, “*Kinenbutsu*” [“Memorial Goods”], *Photoart*, May 1963

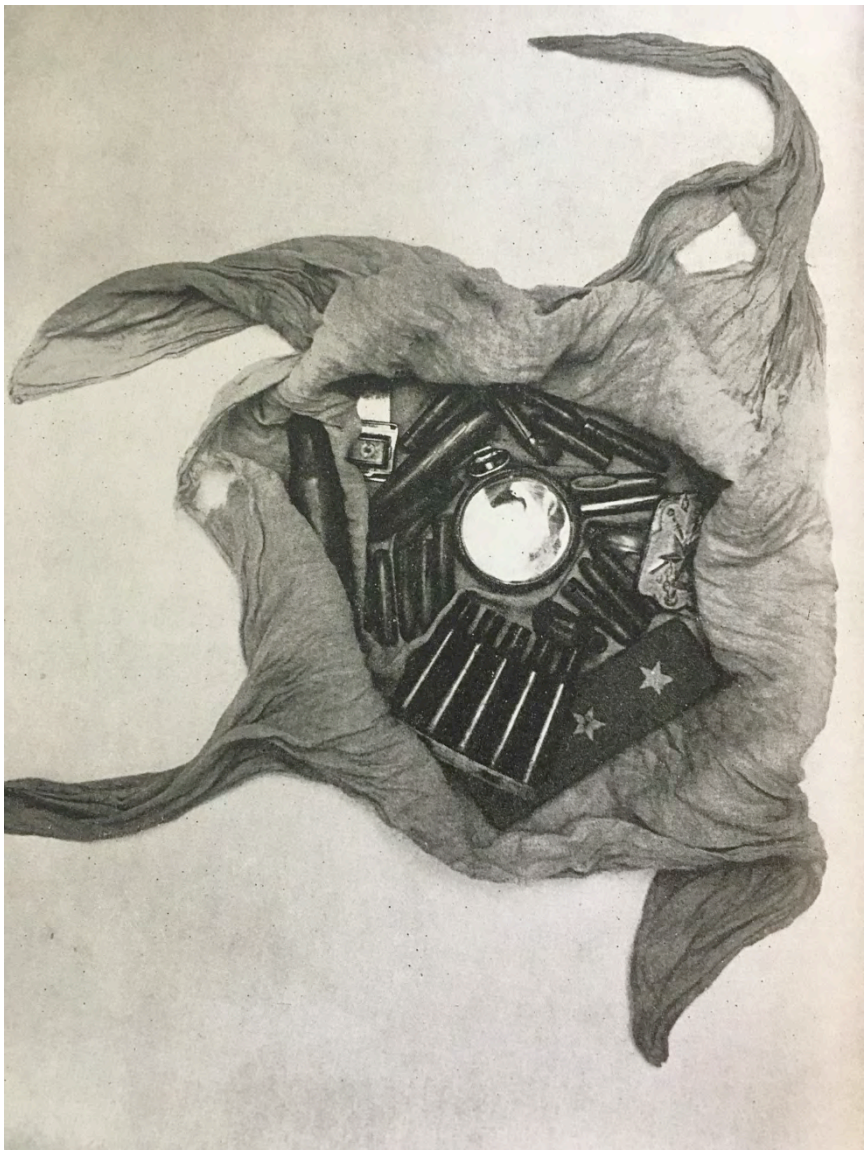


Figure 44. Kawada Kikuji, “*Kinenbutsu*” [“Memorial Goods”], *Photoart*, May 1963

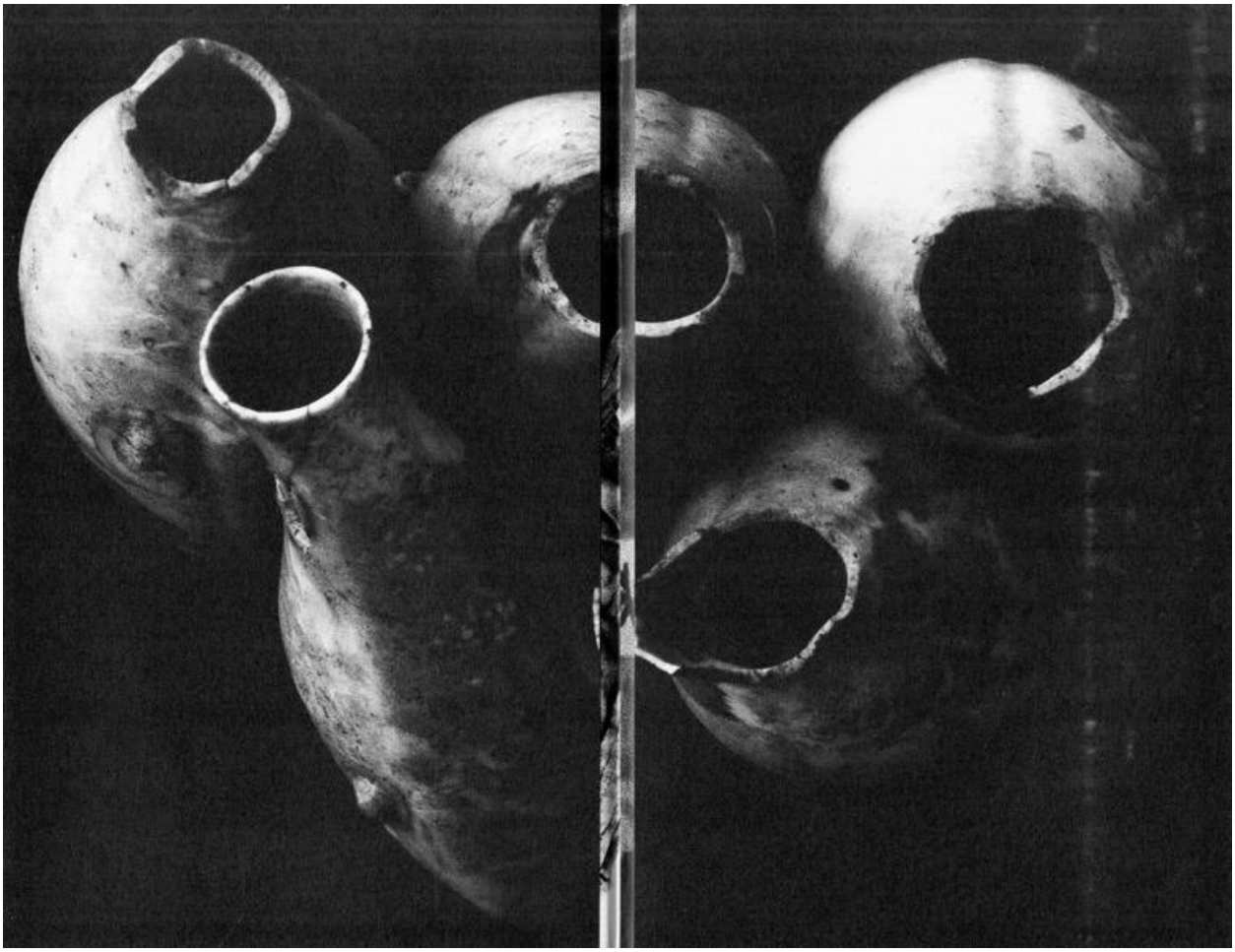


Figure 45. Kawada Kikuji, *Fusion by the A-Bomb Thermic Rays. Sake Bottles*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 46. Kawada Kikuji, *Relics. A Writing in Blood of the Special Attack Corps*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

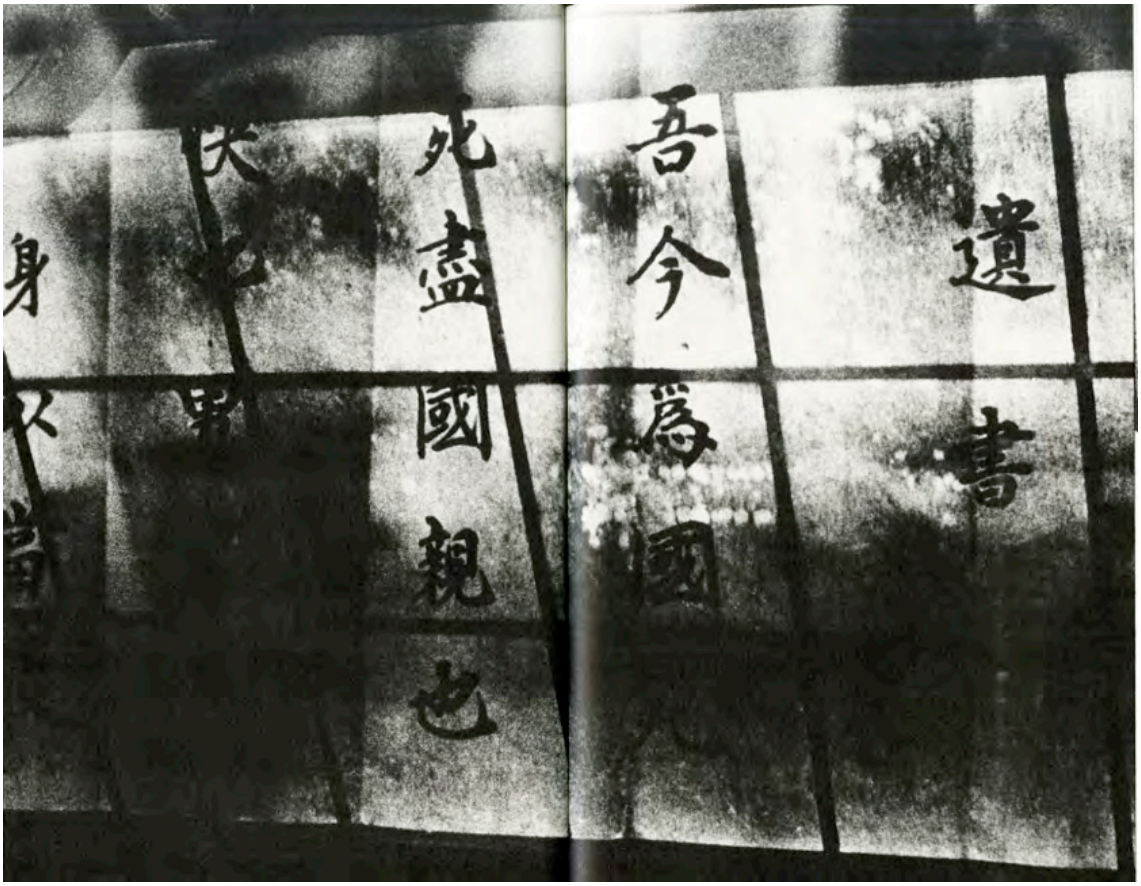


Figure 47. Kawada Kikuji, *A Note for the Last Will*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

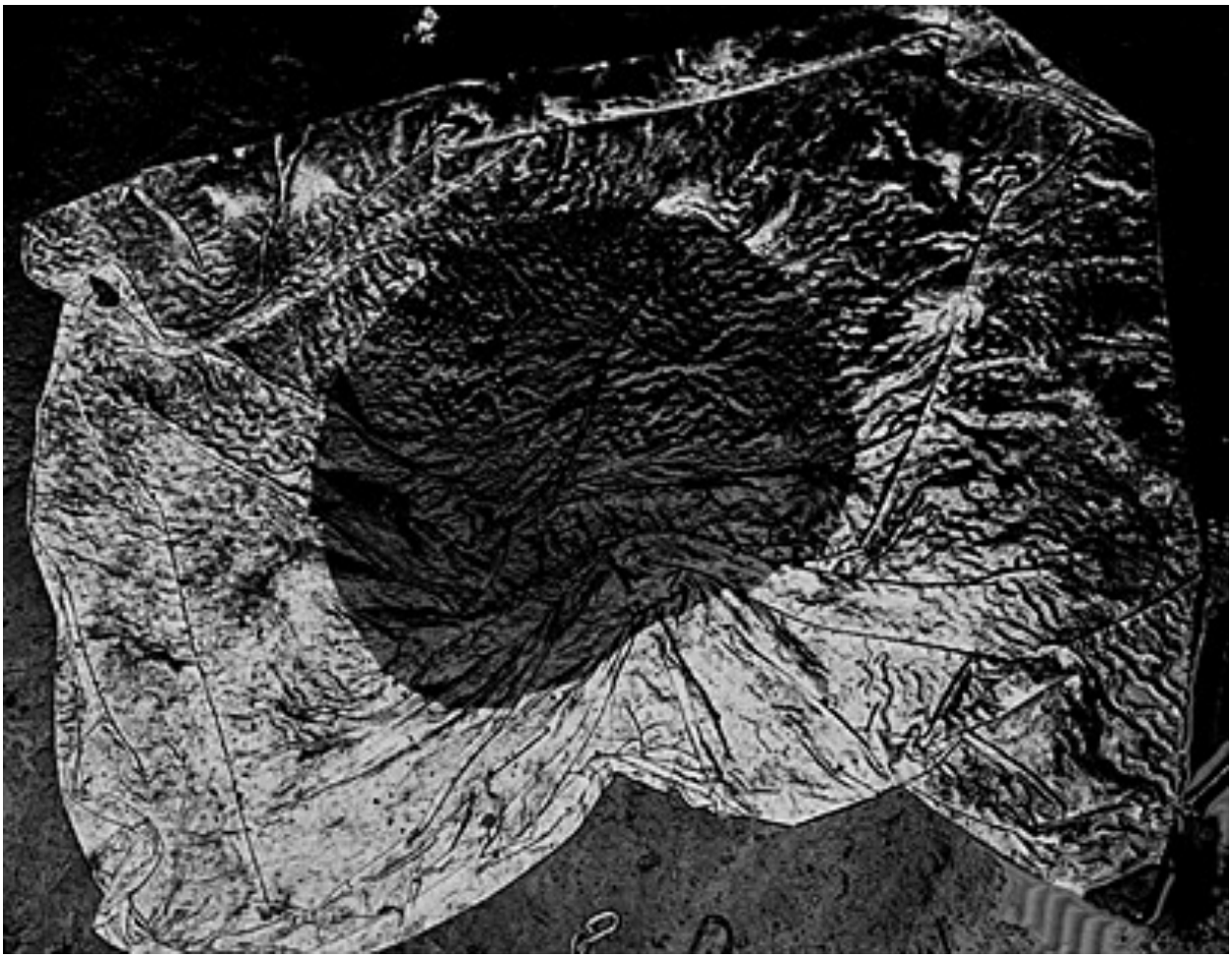


Figure 48. Kawada Kikuji, *Hinomaru*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

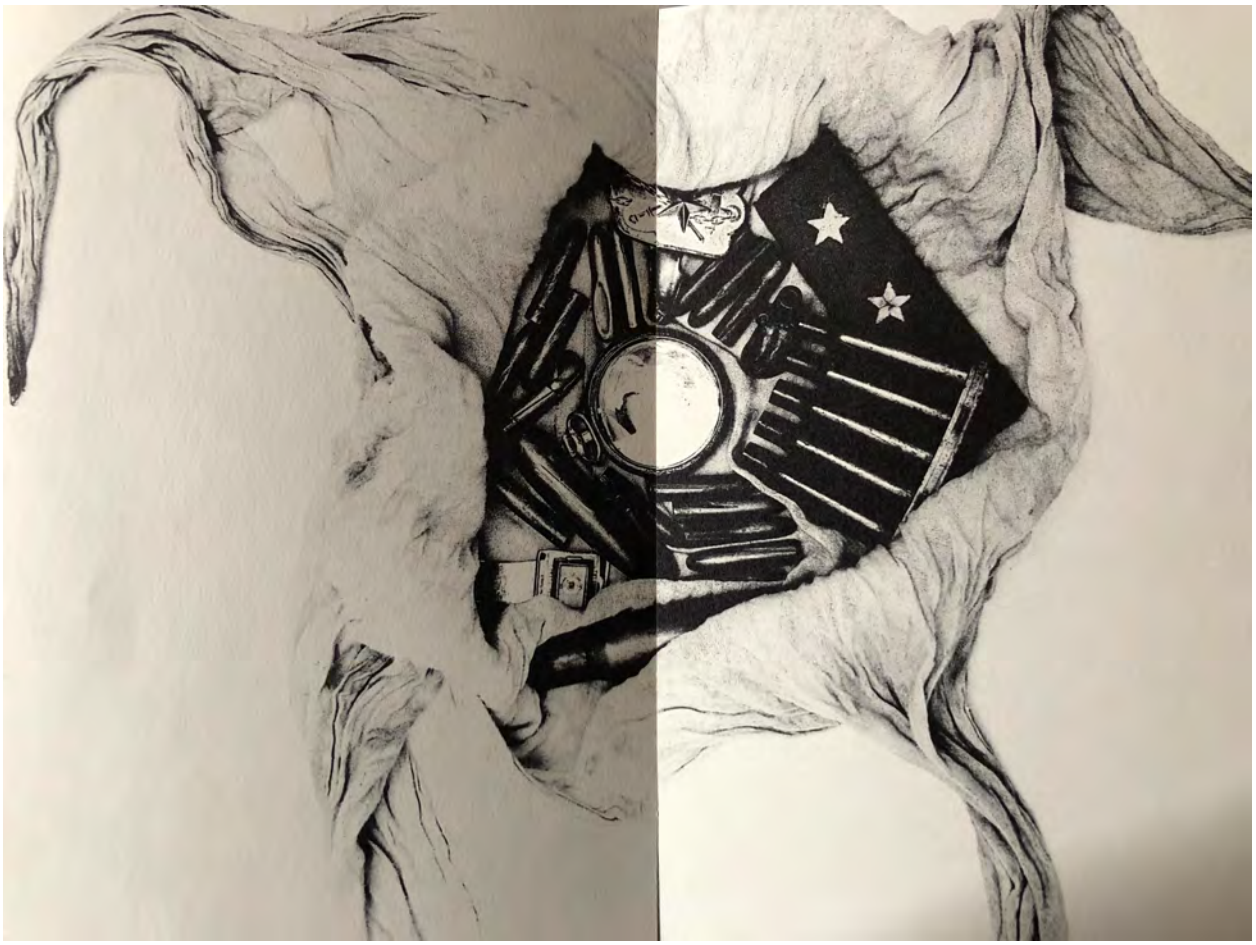


Figure 49. Kawada Kikuji, *Things Left Behind. Watch. Cartridges. Compass. Grade Crest*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

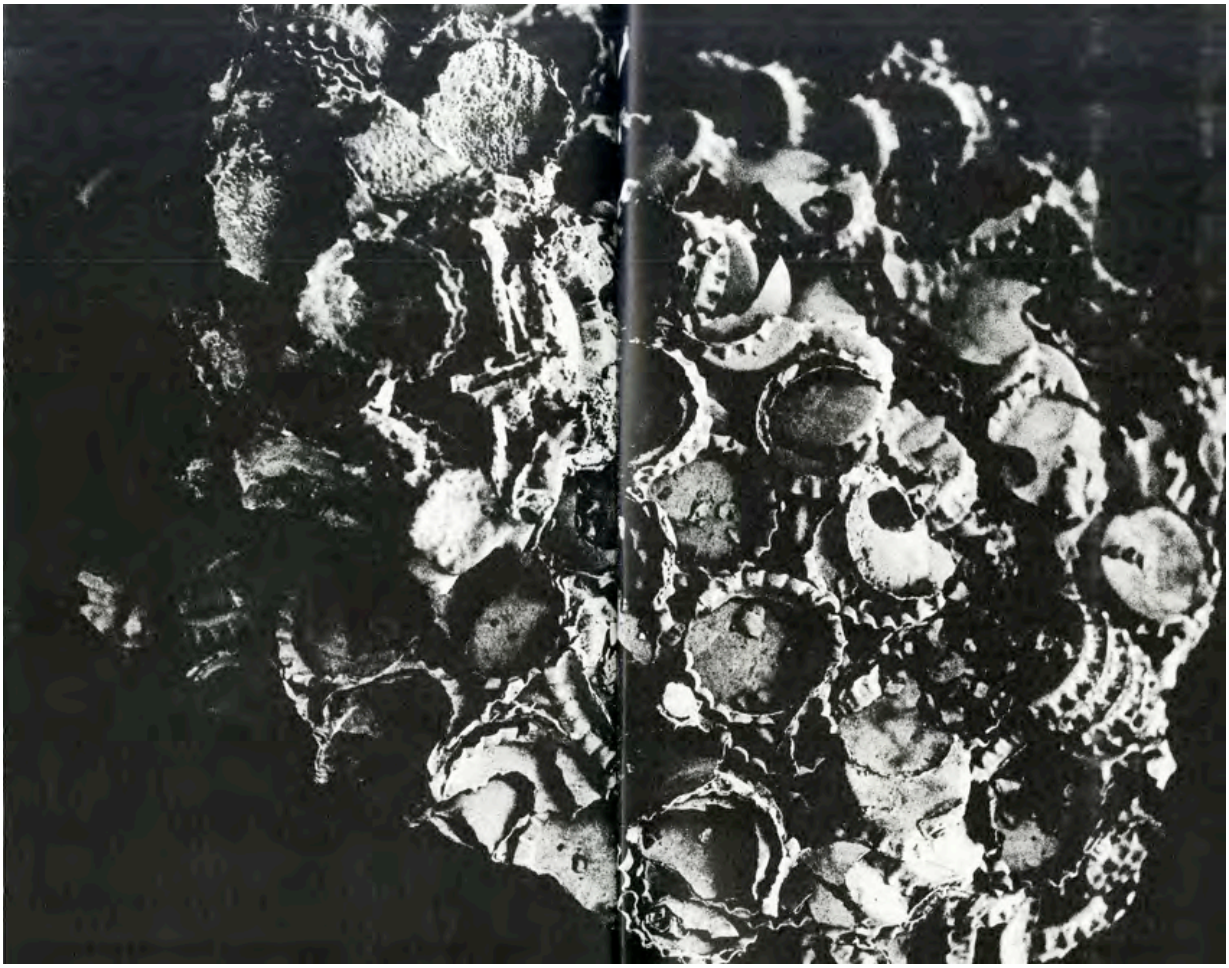


Figure 50. Kawada Kikuji, “Fusion by the A-Bomb Thermic Rays. Beer Stoppers,” from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

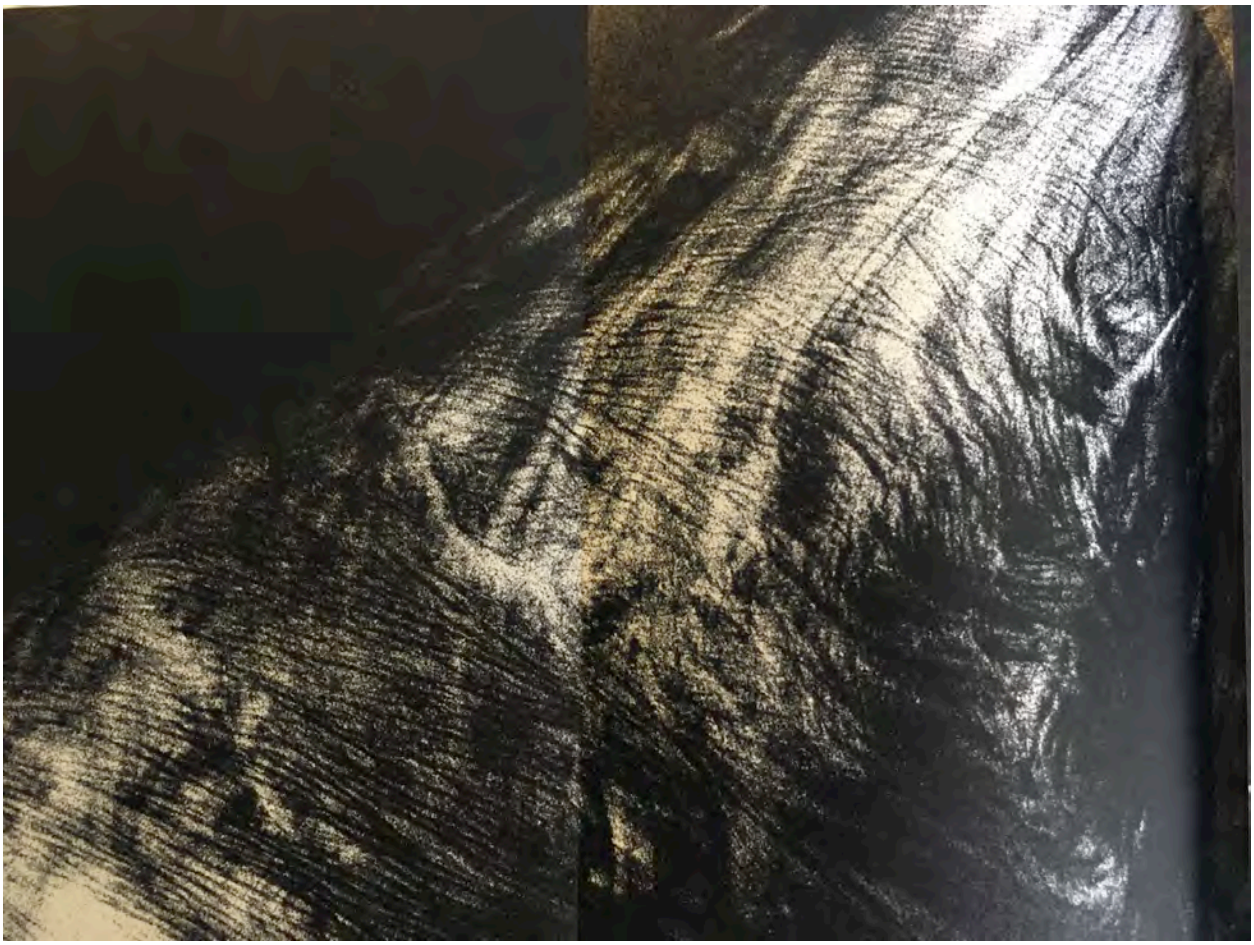


Figure 51. Kawada Kikuji, *A Keloid Arm,* from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 52. Kawada Kikuji, *The A-Bomb Memorial Dome and Ōta River*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 53. Kawada Kikuji, *Relief of Three Heroic Assailants Carrying a Bomb*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 54. Kawada Kikuji, *Yasukuni Shrine*. 1960.

Figure 55. Domon Ken, *Skin Graft on the Left Side of the Face*, from *Hiroshima* (Kenkōsha), 1958.

Figure 56. Domon Ken, *Skin Graft on the Left Side of the Face*, from *Hiroshima* (Kenkōsha), 1958.

Figure 57. Domon Ken, *Hibakusha Marriage, the Ōtani Family*, from *Hiroshima* (Kenkōsha), 1958.

Figure 58. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Kataoka Tsuyo, Hibakusha, Nagasaki*, 1961. From *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961*, Tōmatsu Shōmei and Domon Ken (Tōkyō: Gensuibaku Kinshi Nihon Kyōgiku (Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs), 1961).

Figure 59. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Beer Bottle After the Atomic Bomb Explosion*, from *11:02 Nagasaki* (Shashin Dojinsha), 1966.

Figure 60. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Burned Bamboo*, from *11:02 Nagasaki* (Shashin Dojinsha), 1966.

Figure 61. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Statues of Angels at the Urakami Tenshudo Catholic Cathedral, Nagasaki,* from *11:02 Nagasaki* (Shashin Dojinsha), 1966.

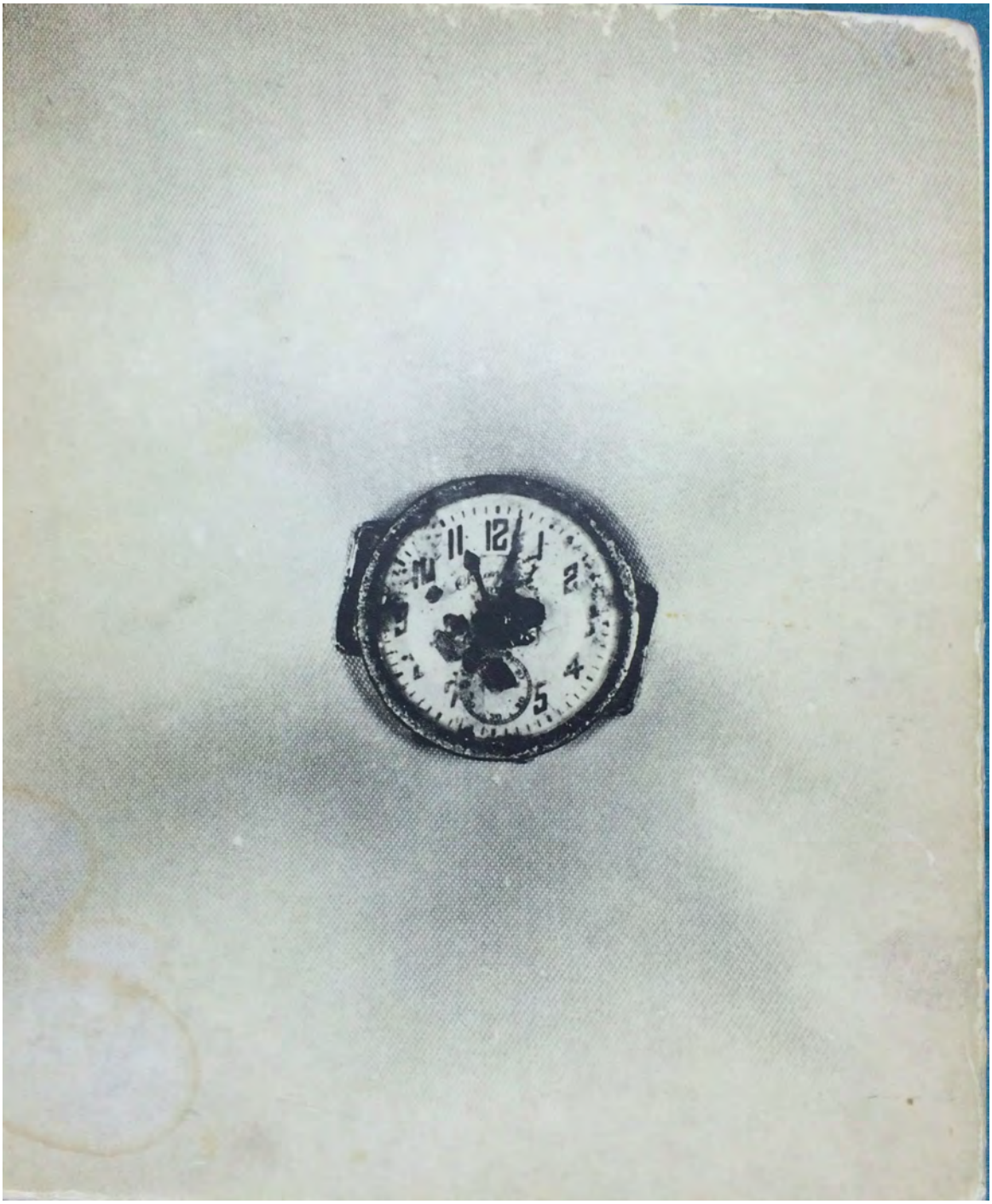


Figure 62. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Pocket-watch Stopped at 11:02*, from *11:02 Nagasaki* (Shashin Dojinsha), 1966.

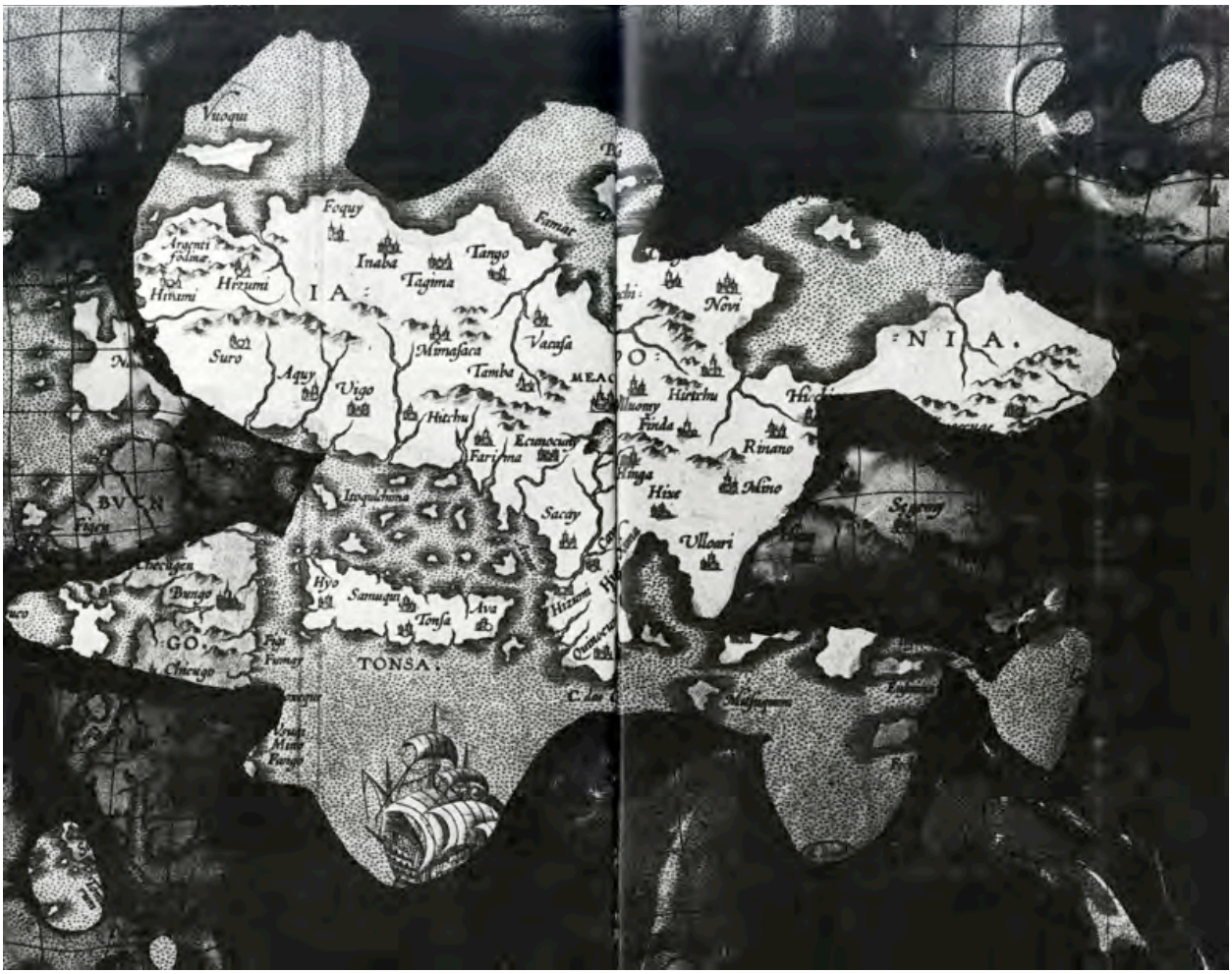


Figure 63. Kawada Kikuji, *Chūsei nihon* [*Map of Medieval Japan*], from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965

Figure 64. Ortelius, *Iaponia insulae descriptio,* from *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,* Antwerp: Plantin, 1595.

Figure 65. Interview with Murakoshi Yoshinobu's mother, screengrab from Getty Image Archives, "Mainichi Productions, 1963: Let's Find Yoshinobu--chan!" gettyimages.co.uk. http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/video/lets-find-yoshinobu-appeal-for-information-in-yoshinobu-new s-footage/493099506 (Accessed September 10, 2017).

Figure 66. Yoshinobu-chan's shoe, screengrab from NHK archives, "*Yoshinobu-chan yūkai jiken*," ("The Kidnapping of Yoshinobu-chan"), NHK.or.jp, http://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030056_00000 (accessed September 13, 2017).

Figure 67. The public bathroom where Yoshinobu-chan was last seen, screengrab from NHK archives, "*Yoshinobu-chan yūkai jiken*," ("The Kidnapping of Yoshinobu-chan"), NHK.or.jp, http://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030056_00000 (accessed September 13, 2017).

Figure 68. Kawada Kikuji, *A Kidnapped Boy*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 69. Kawada Kikuji, *Search Instructions [hannin tehaishi*], from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

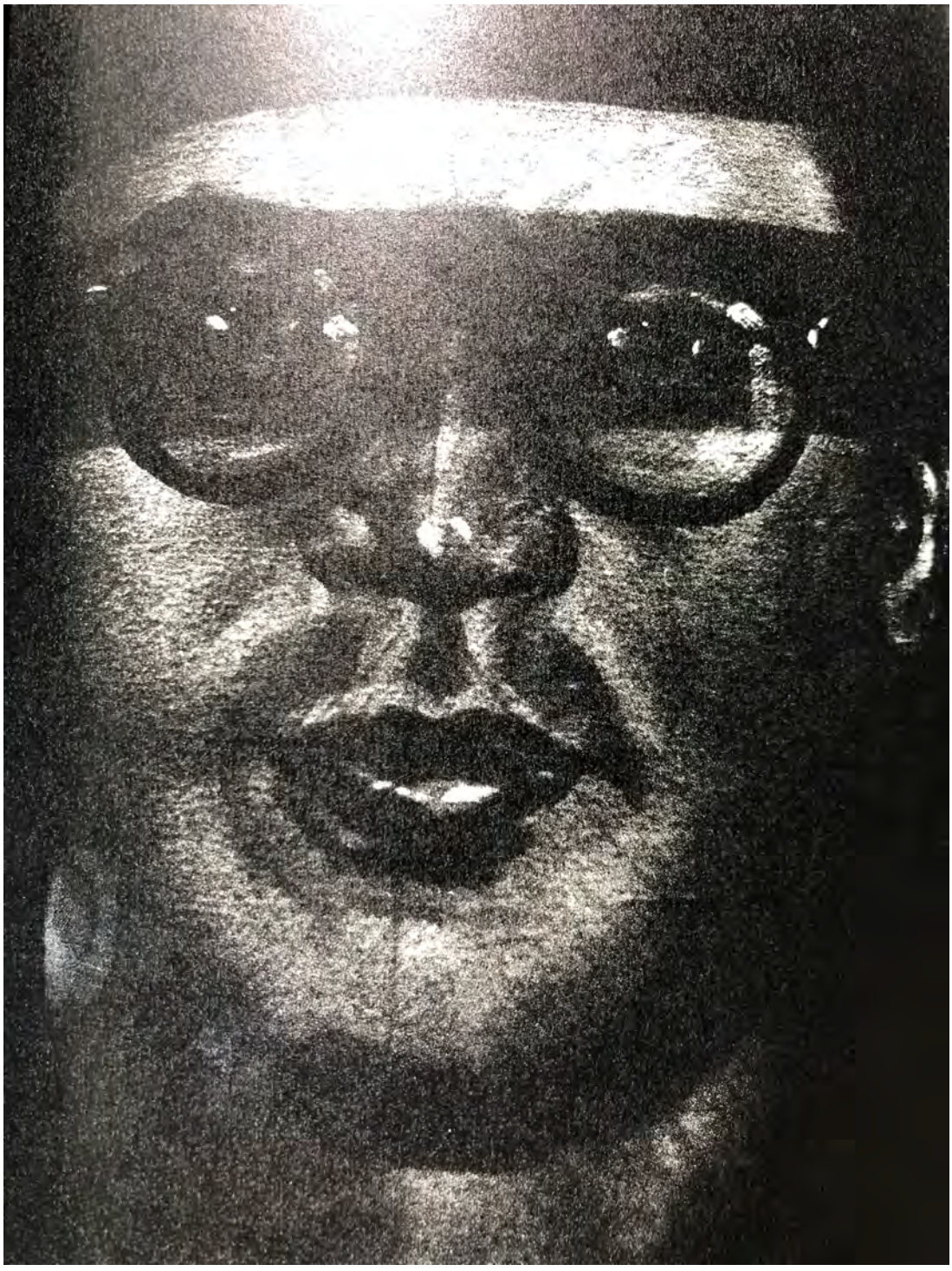


Figure 70. Kawada Kikuji, *Montage Photo of 1,000 Yen Note Forger*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

涙で歌った
『かえしておくれ今すぐに』

事件当時の吉展ちゃん

吉展ちゃんをお母さんに
返して！　切なる願いを
こめて歌うピーナッツ!!

私たちに
歌わせて！

ザ・ピーナッツが
〝この歌〟をはじめて
きいたのは、つい2ヵ
月ほど前の名古屋での
こと。
皆さんはもうすでにご承
知でしょうが、この『かえ
しておくれ今すぐに』とい
う歌は、作詞家の藤田敏雄
と作曲家いずみ・たくの両
氏が、吉展ちゃん事件はじ
め、最近とくにふえてきた誘
かい事件をヒントにつくった
ものです。その歌を名古屋の労
音で、ポニー・ジャックスが歌
っているのを聞いて、
「いい歌だわ！　悲しいけど、
胸に訴えてくる曲じゃない！」
「吉展ちゃん、いまごろどうし
てるかしら？　もう3年めだっ
ていうのに……」
エミとユミはメロディーをハ
ミングしながら、誘かいされた
まま行くえの知れない村越吉展
ちゃんのことを、思わずにはい
られませんでした。
かえしておくれ今すぐに
君も君も　人の子ならば
あの子の生命かえしておくれ
……　……
ピーナッツにも、小学生のこ
ろ、名古屋の町で誘かいされそ
うになった、こわい思い出があ
ったのです。
ある日、お母さんといっしょ
に買い物に行った帰り道。人ご
みの中で、ふっとお母さんとはぐ
れてしまったときの心細さ！
小さなふたりは、泣きながら
母の名を呼びつづけました。し
ばらくして、運よくお母さんとめ
ぐり会えたけれど、もしあの
とき、誘かいされていたら！
「ねえ私たちにも、この歌をう
たわせてもらいましょうよ！」
「吉展ちゃんをつれてった犯人
にきかせて、今からでもすぐ、
かえしてもらうようにね！」
ピーナッツはすぐに、作詞の

Figure 71. "*Namida de 'kaeshite okure ima sugu ni,'*" *Meisei* magazine, May 1965. Article featuring the song about the kidnapping incident by the Japanese pop duo The Peanuts.

Figure 72. Composite photograph of the *Chi-37* counterfeit scheme perpetrator, as reproduced in Marotti 2013, pg 247.

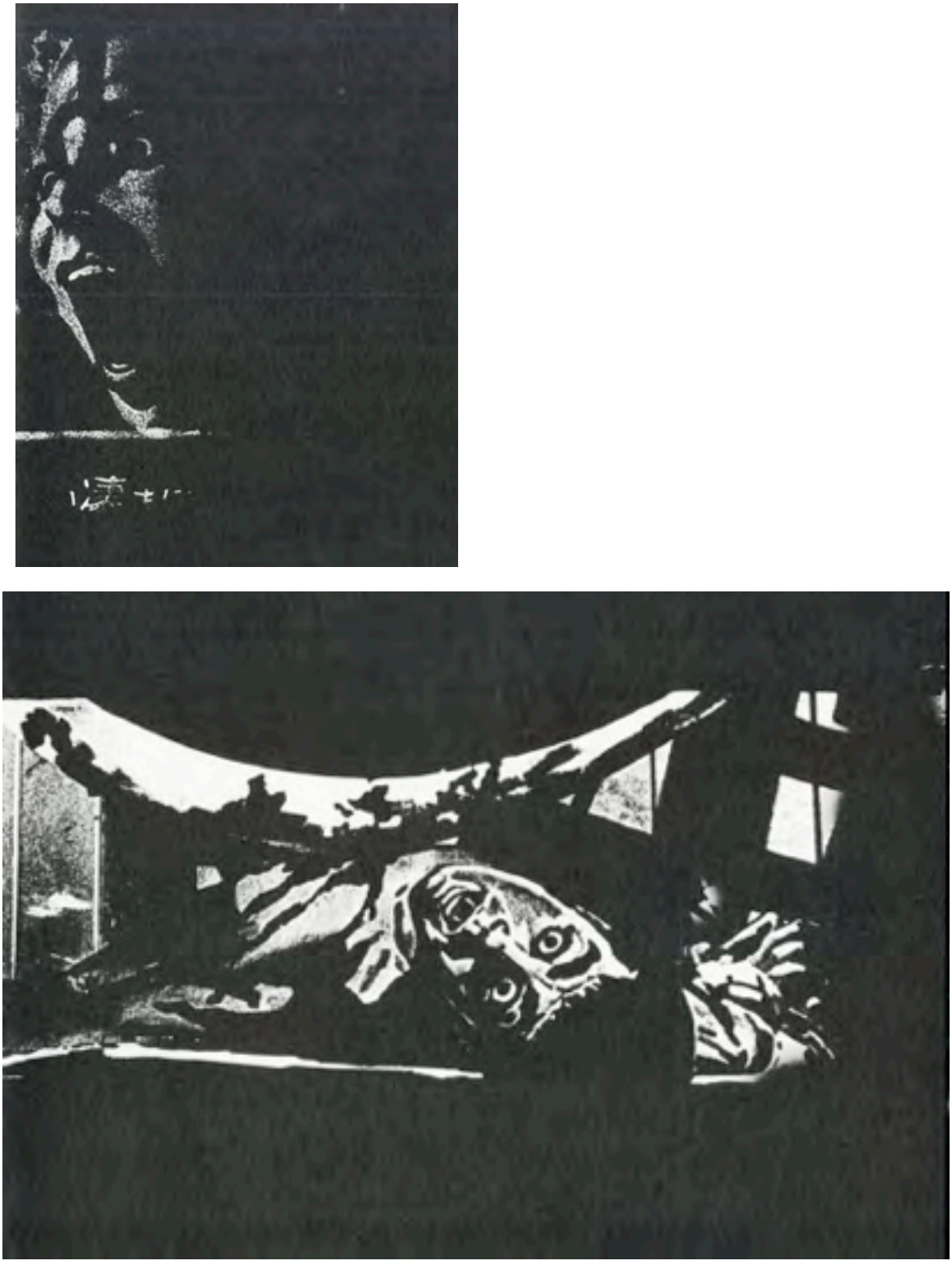


Figure 73. Kawada Kikuji, *Advertisements of Movies and Neon Lights* (details), from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 74. Kawada Kikuji, *Iron Scraps*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 75. Kawada Kikuji, *Iron Scraps*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 76. US-Japan Security Treaty protests in Tokyo. June 18, 1960. *Asahi Shimbun*.

Figure 77. US-Japan Security Treaty protests in Tokyo, 1960. Screengrab from NHK. “６０年安保闘争.” テレビ 60 年 特選コレクション ｜ NHK アーカイブス. https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030036_00000. Originally broadcast on June 1960.

Figure. 78. Nagano Shigeichi, “Metropolitan Police,” *Asahi Camera,* August 1960.

Figure 79. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 3, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 80. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 3, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 81. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 11, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 82. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 15, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 83. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 19, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 84. Hamaya Hiroshi, *June 15, 1960.* 1960.

Figure 85. Hirata Minoru, photograph documenting members of Hi Red Center performing *Cleaning Event (Be Clean! Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area)*, 1964.

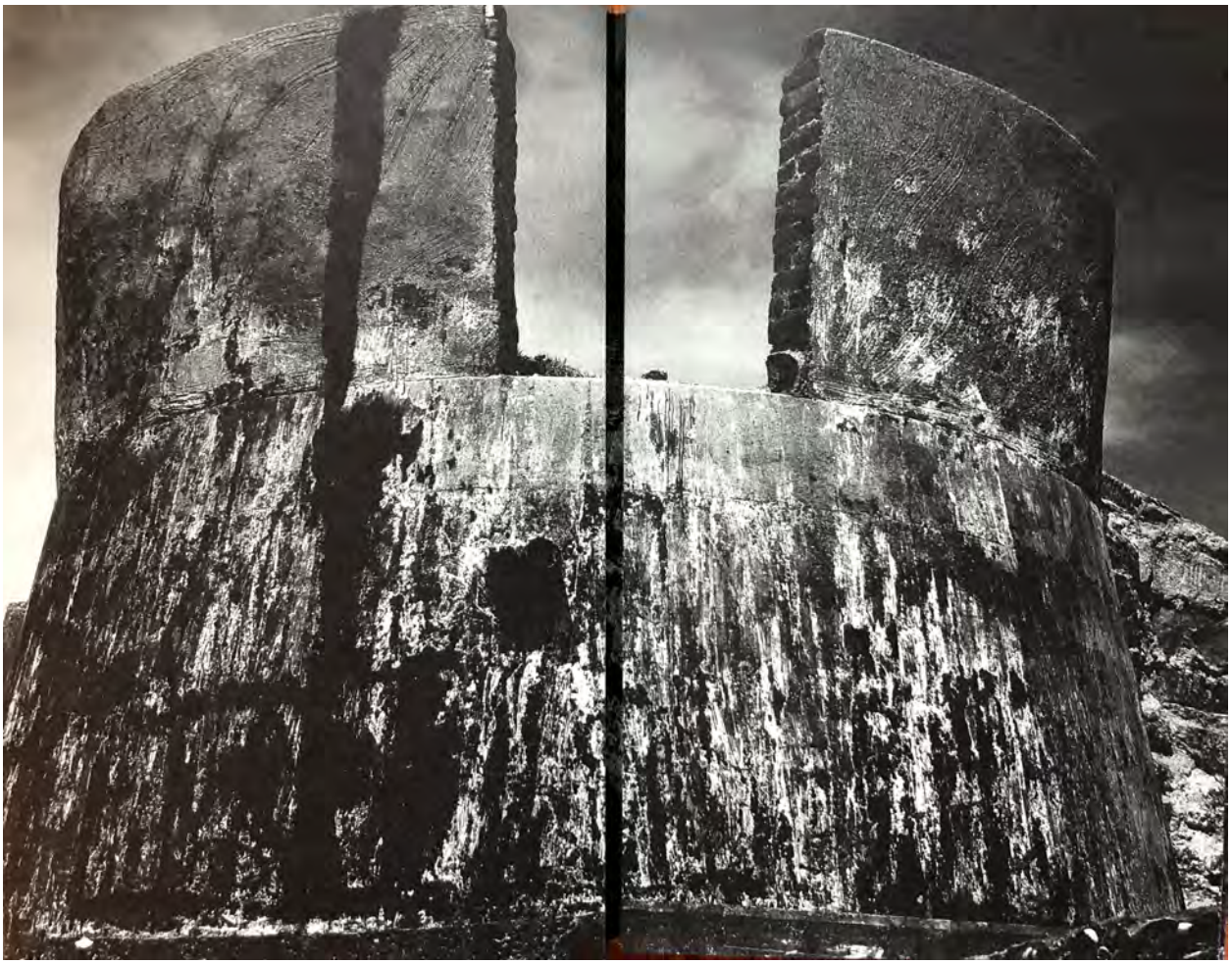


Figure 86. Kawada Kikuji, *The Ruin of a Stronghold. An Anti-Aircraft Gun Position,* from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 87. Kawada Kikuji, *Tochka. Interior. Scribbles*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

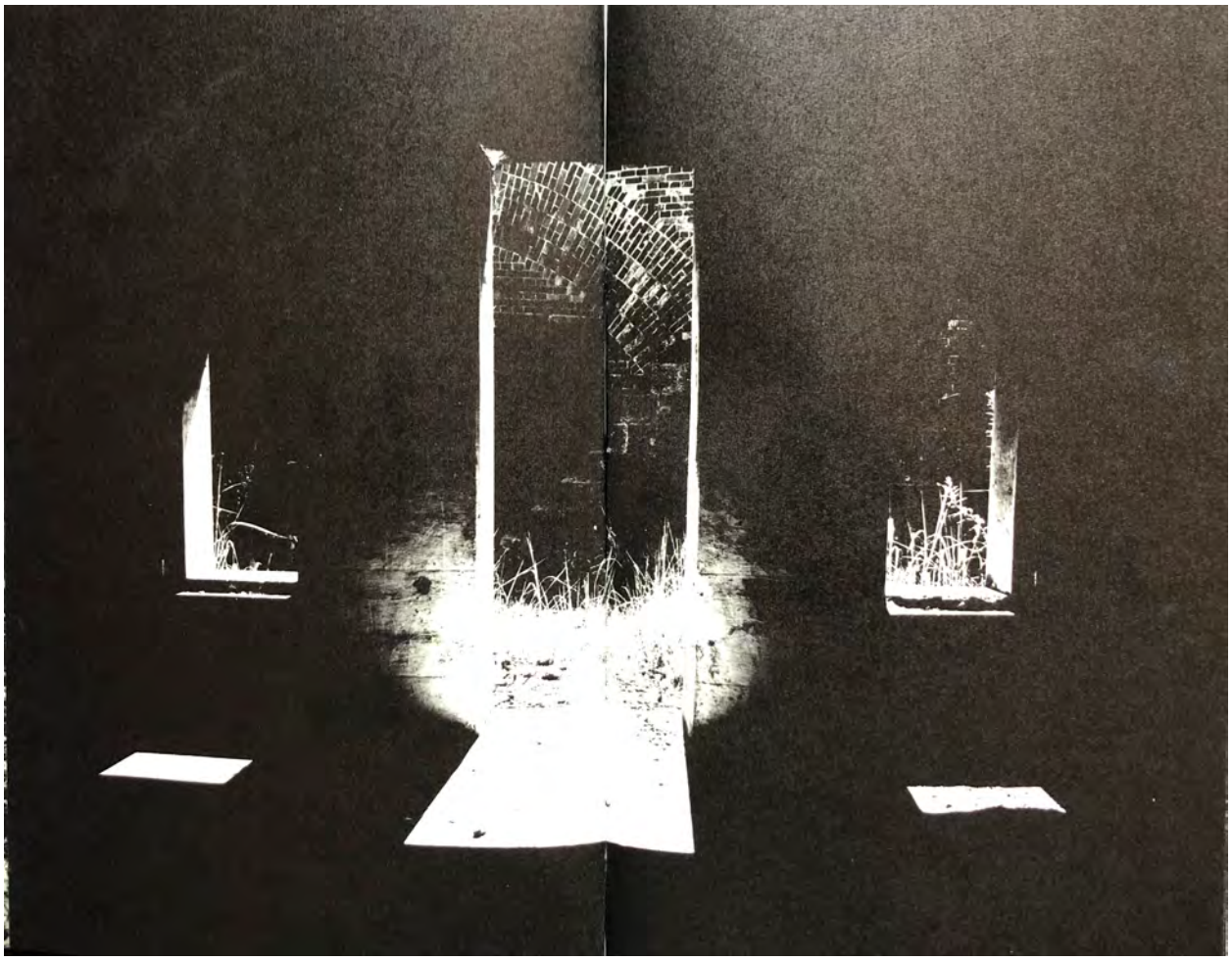


Figure 88. Kawada Kikuji, *The Ruin of a Stronghold. Powder Magazine*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

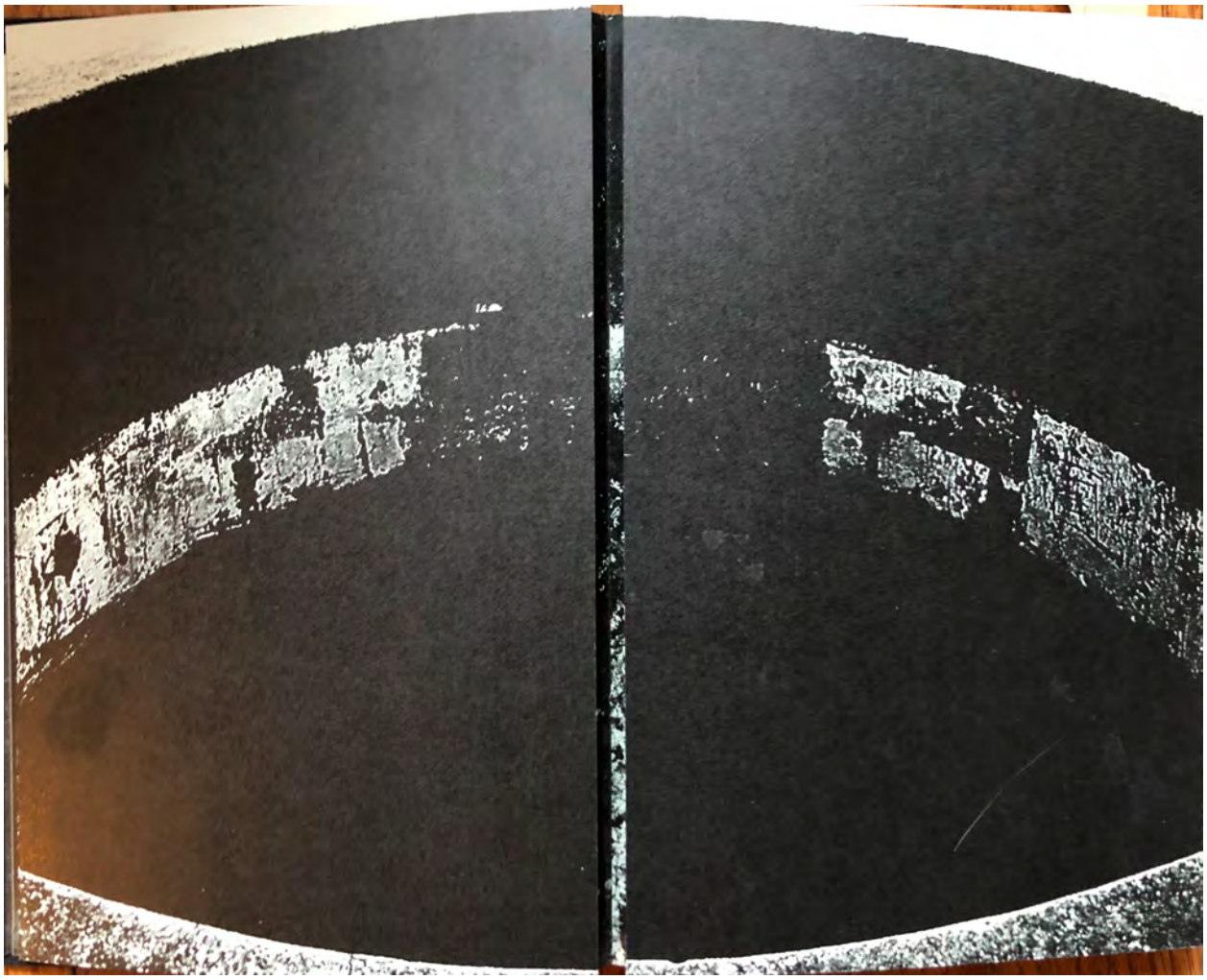


Figure 89. Kawada Kikuji, *The Ruin of a Stronghold*, from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Figure 90. Cian Dayrit, *Landless in the Philippine Islands*, oil on canvas, 2018.

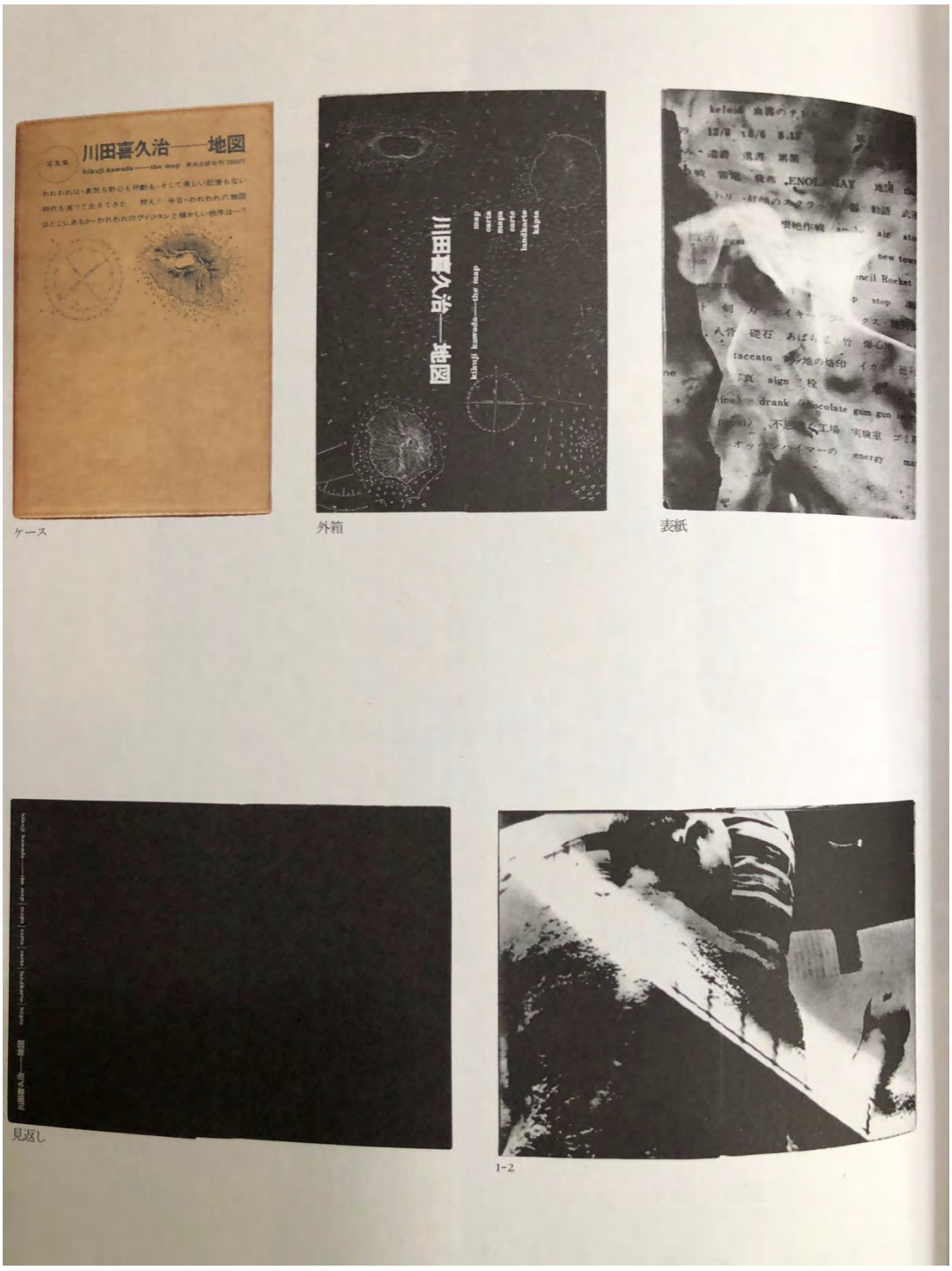
Figure 91. Cian Dayrit, *Insulae Indiae Orientalis*, Embroidery, mixed media, fabric, 2016.

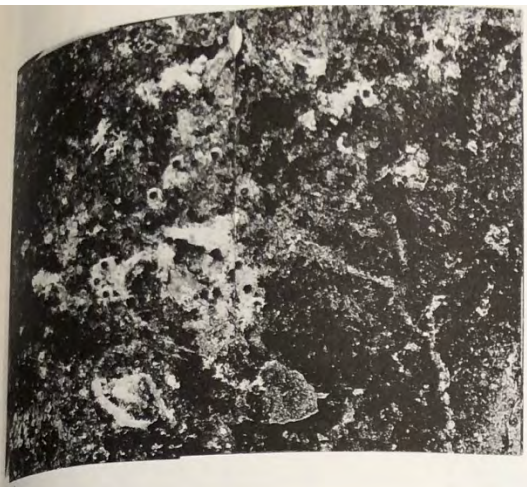
Figure 92. Kawada Kikuji, *Chūsei nihon* [*Map of Medieval Japan*], unfolded with *Hair of an A-Bomb Victim. Woman* (left) and *Things Left Behind. Watch. Cartridges. Compass. Grade Crest* (right), from *Chizu* [*The Map*], 1965.

Appendices

Appendix I - Full layouts of *Chizu* (*The Map*) (1965) compared to maquette version (1964)

As reproduced in Kawada Kikuji, Jimbo Kyoko et al., *Theatrum mundi: Kikuji Kawada* (Tokyo: Tokyo Museum of Photography, 2003), 182-217.





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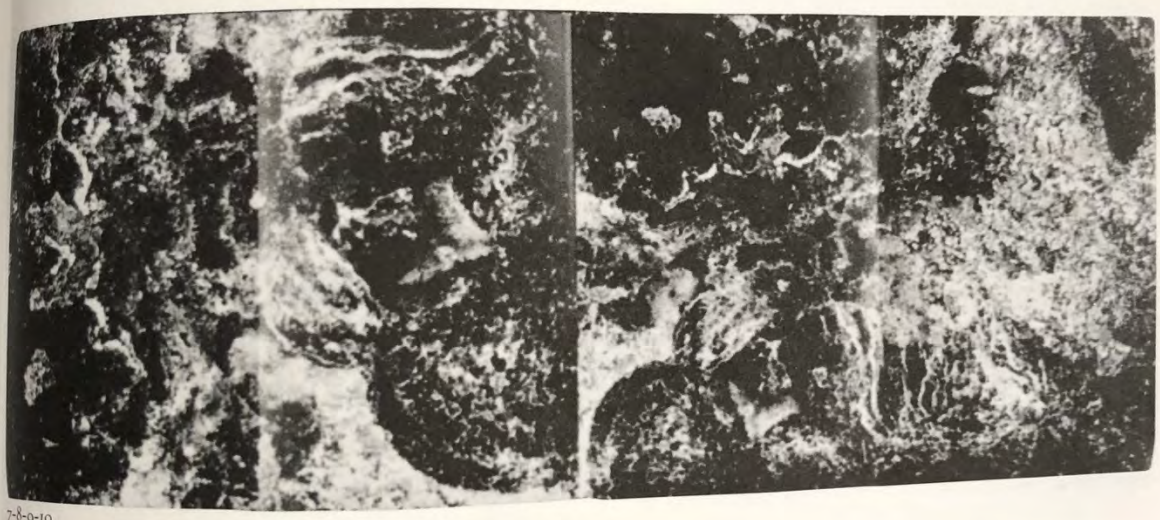

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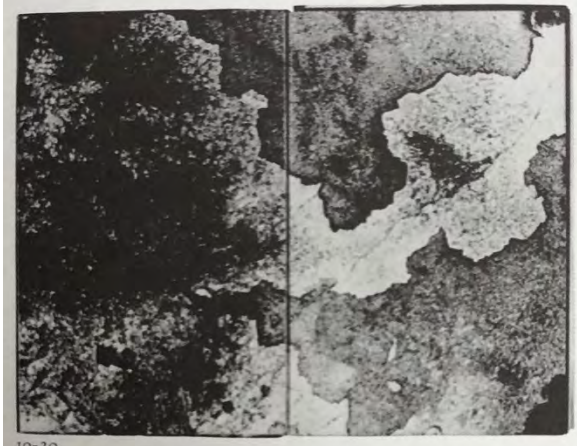
13-14

15-16-17-18



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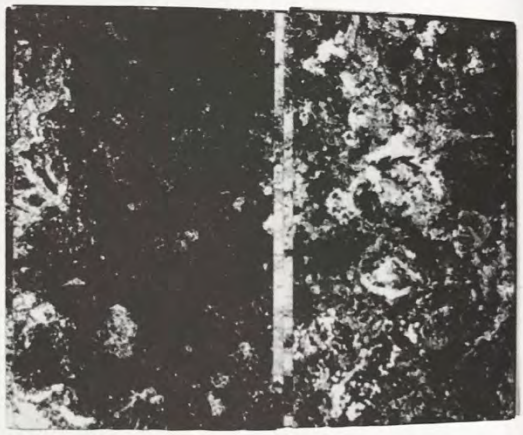

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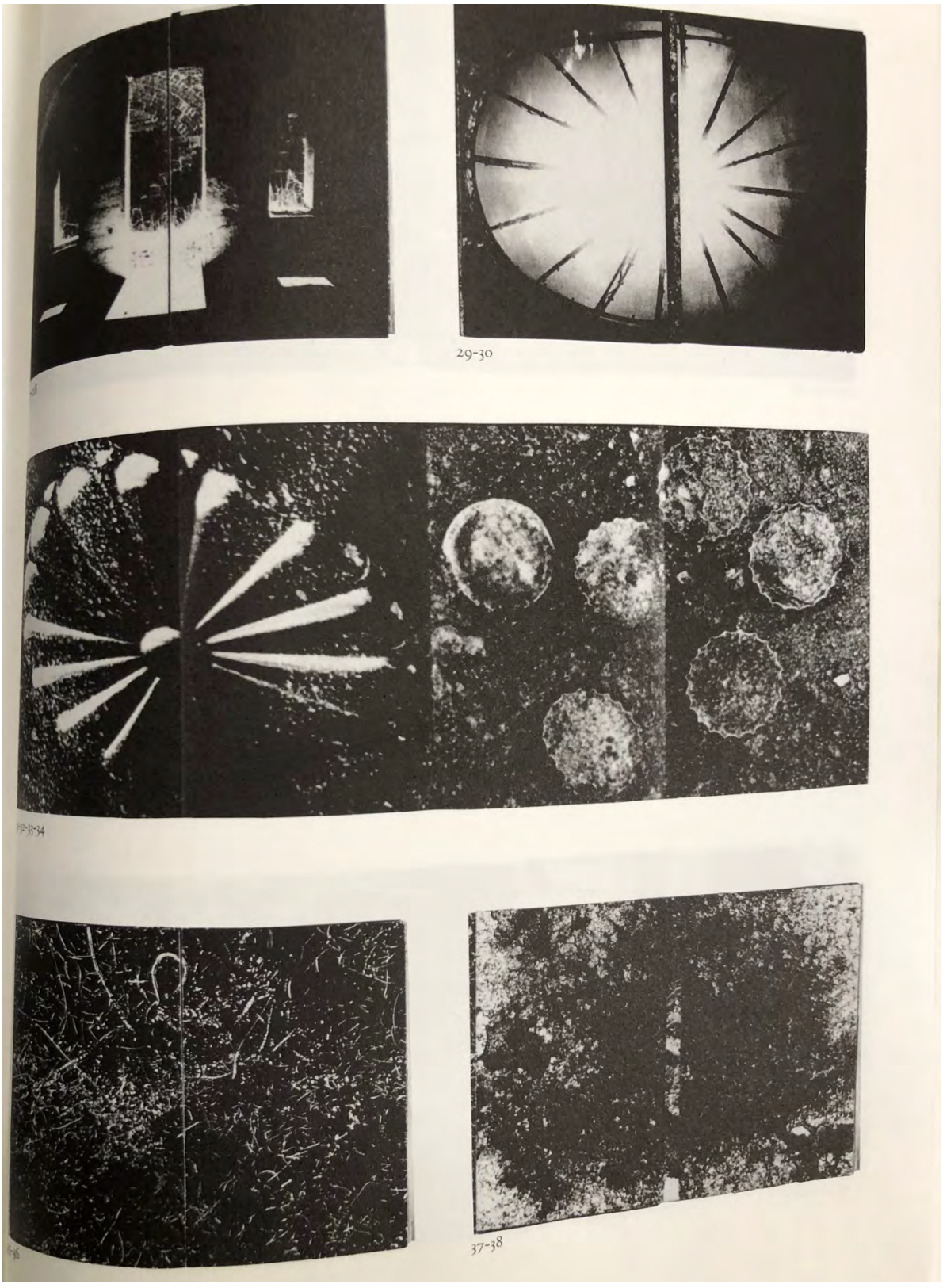
23-24-25-26



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37-38

39-40-41-42

43-44

45-46

47-48-49-50

51-52

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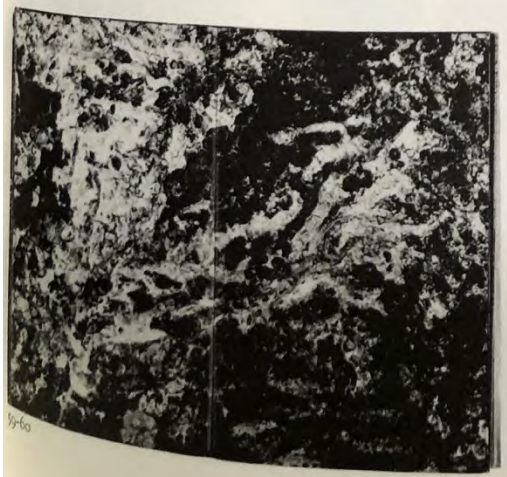

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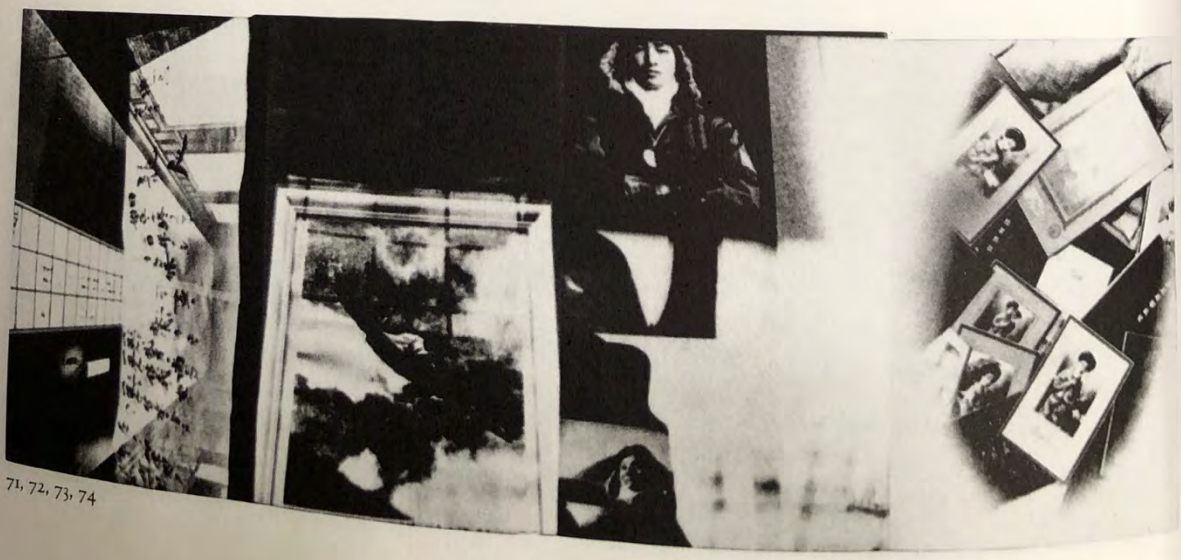

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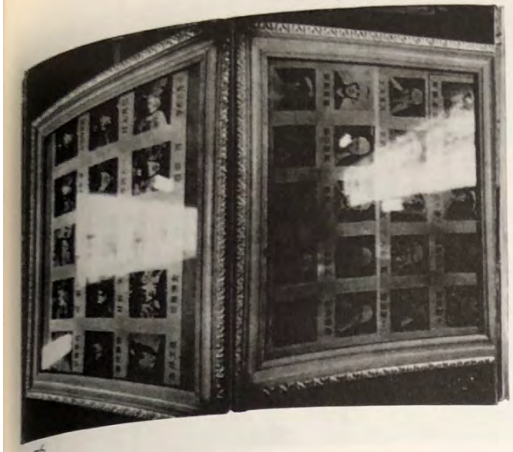

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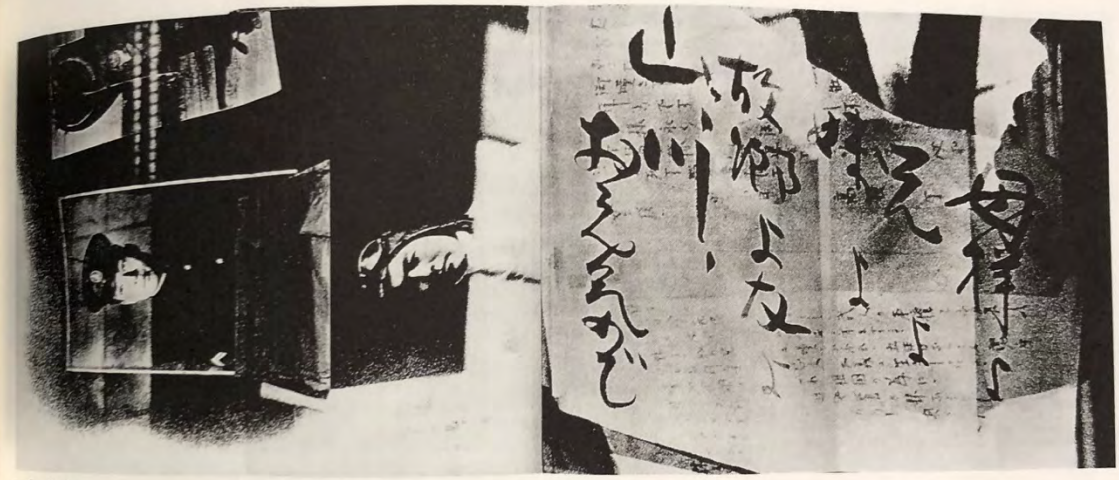

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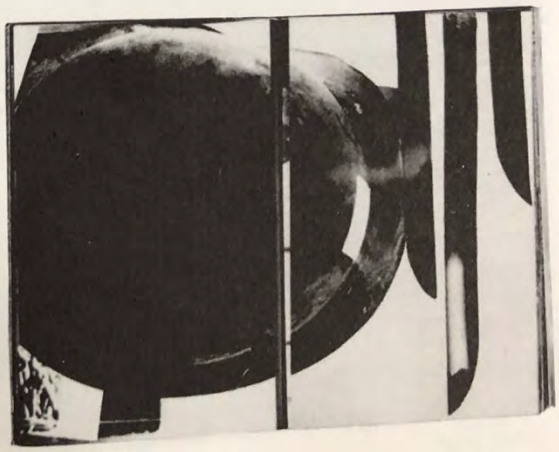

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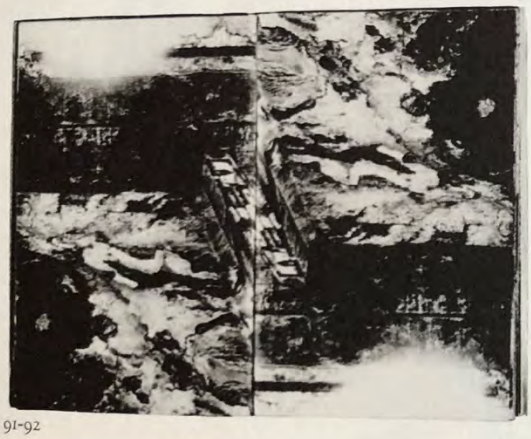

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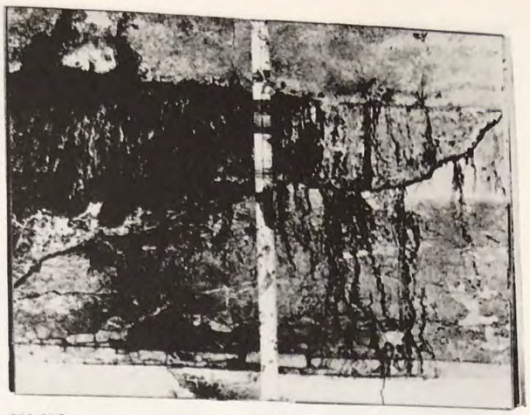

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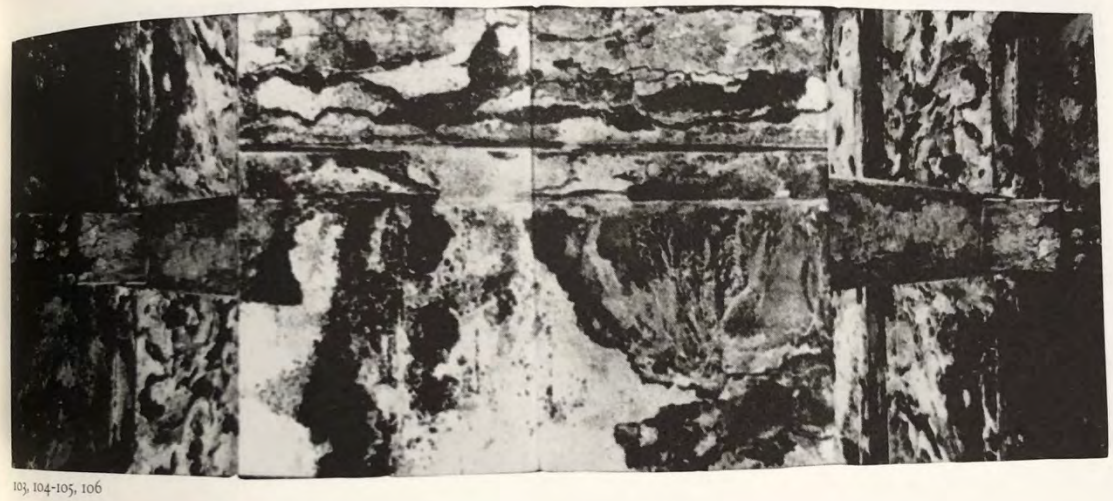

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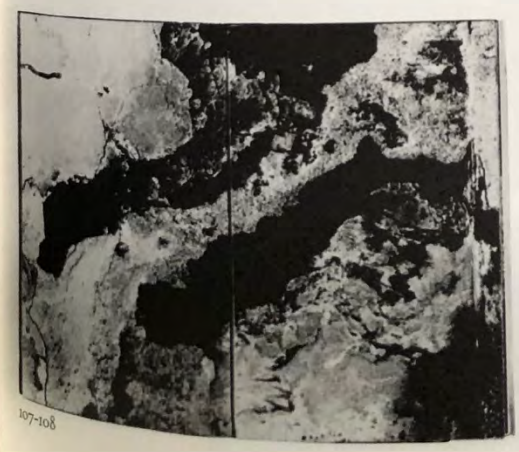

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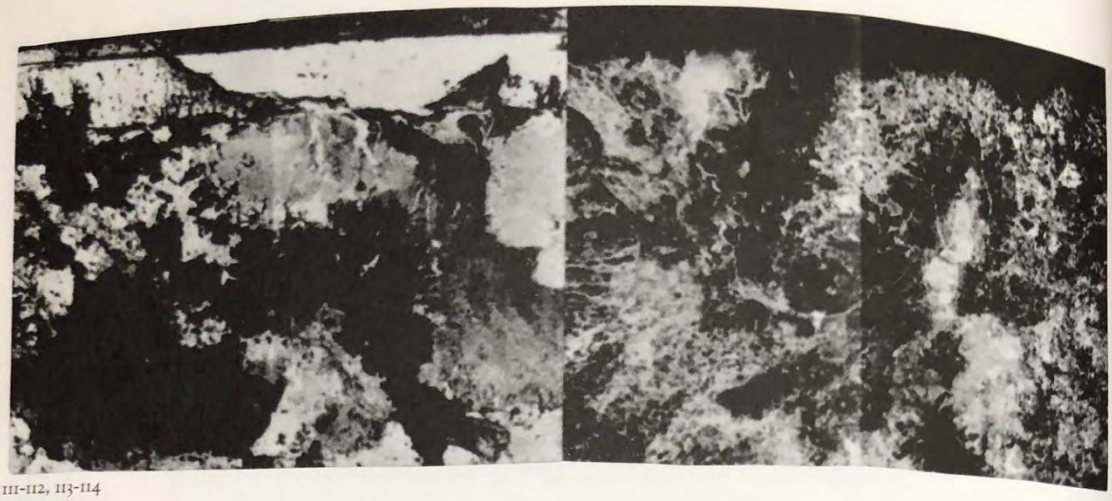

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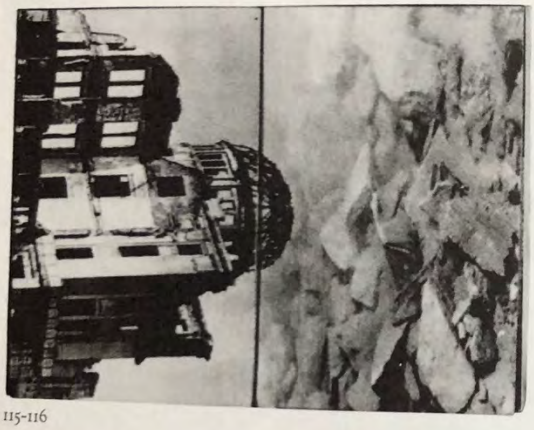

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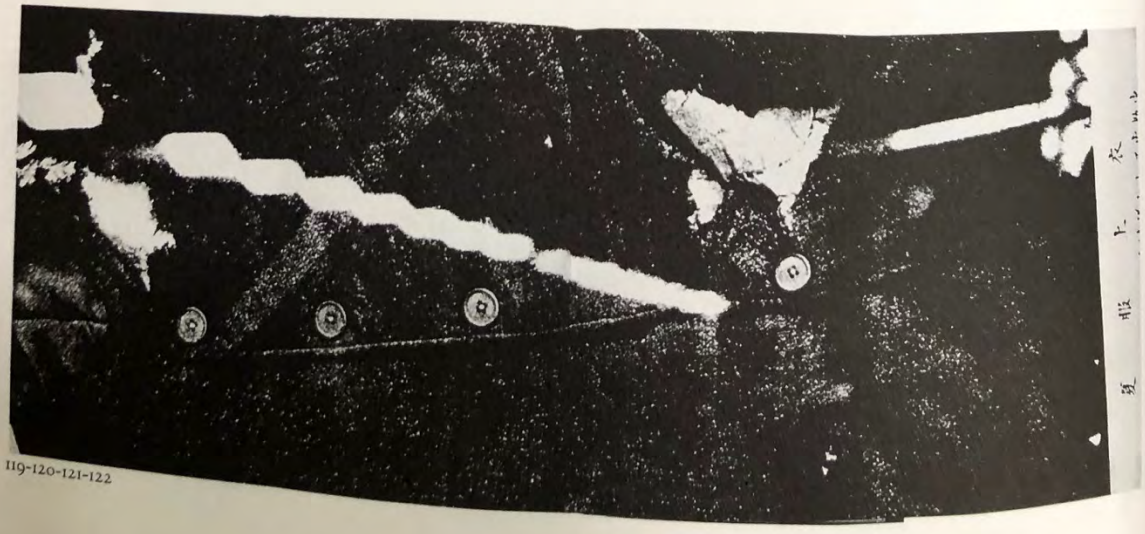

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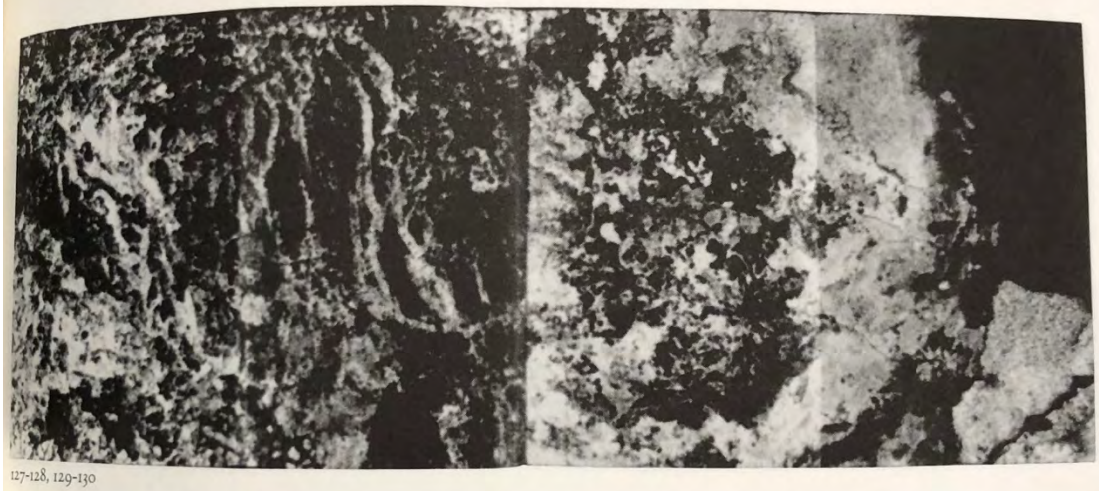

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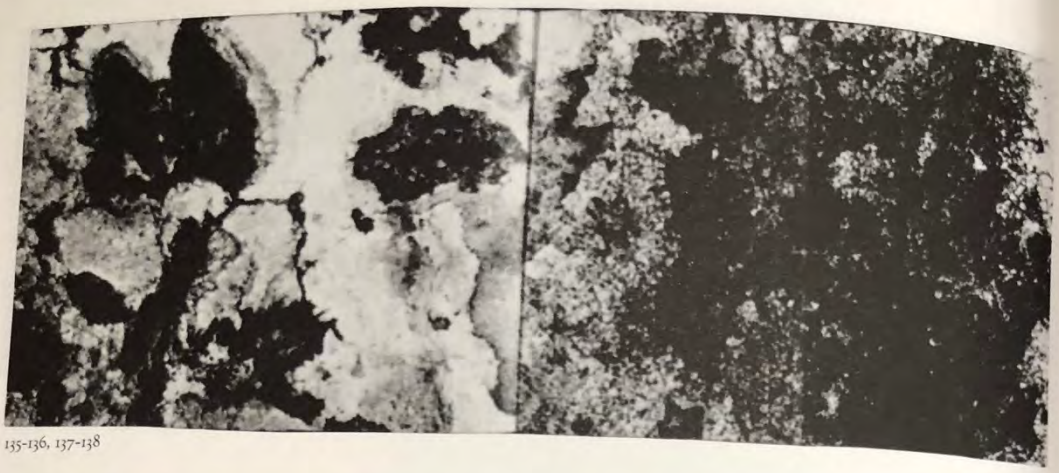

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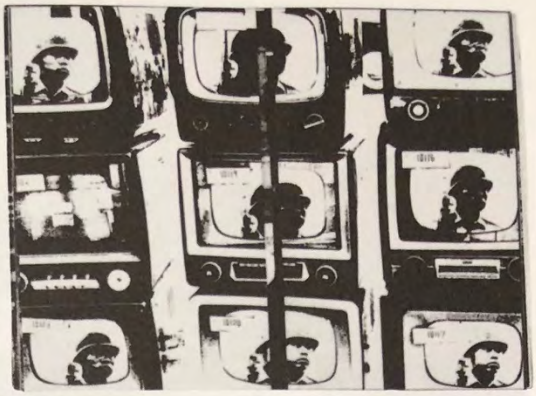

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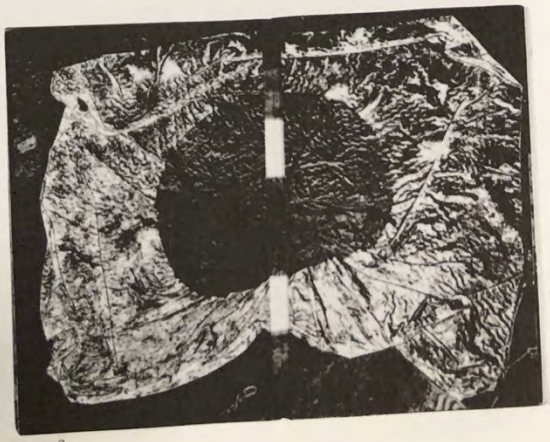

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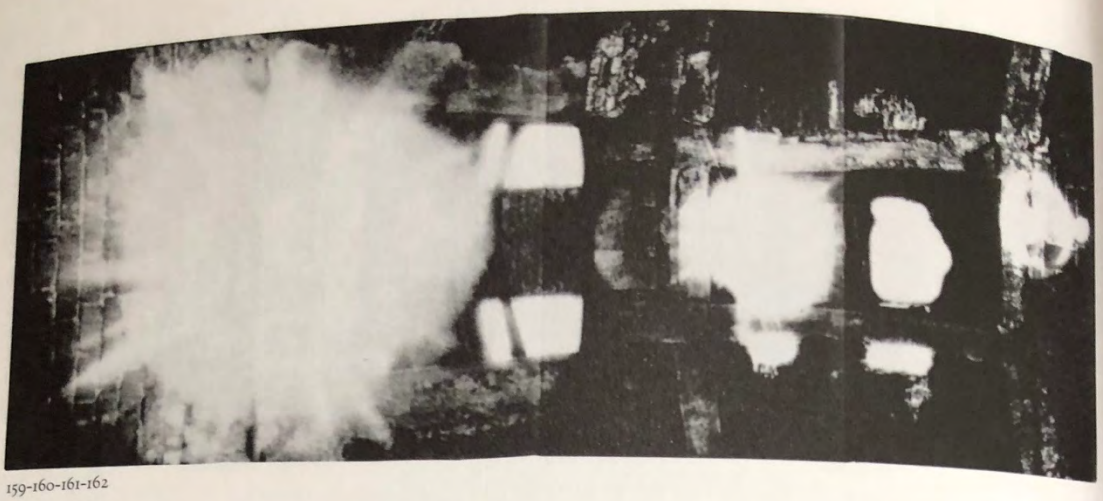

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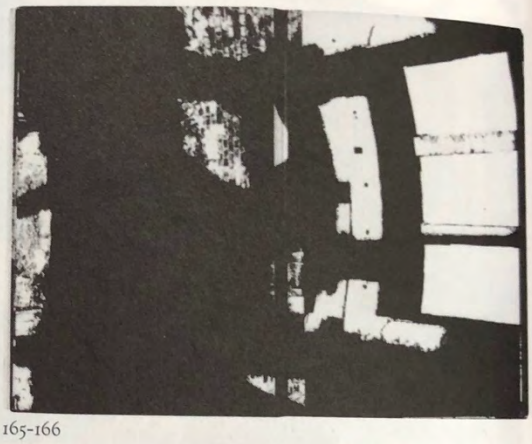

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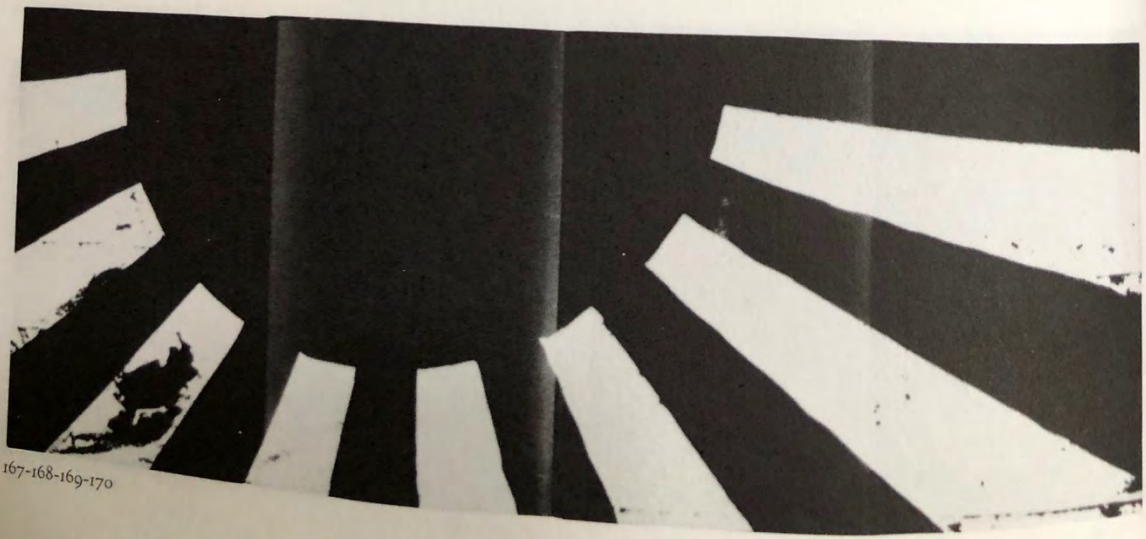

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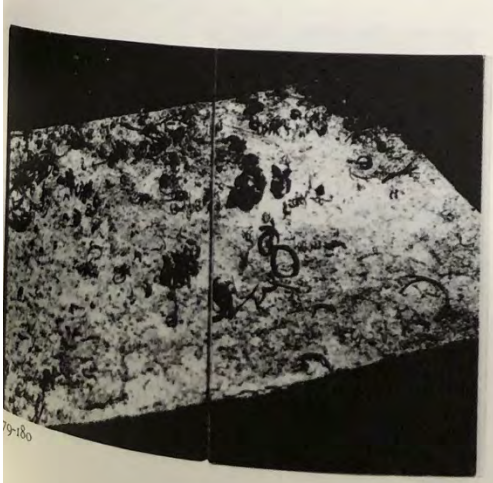

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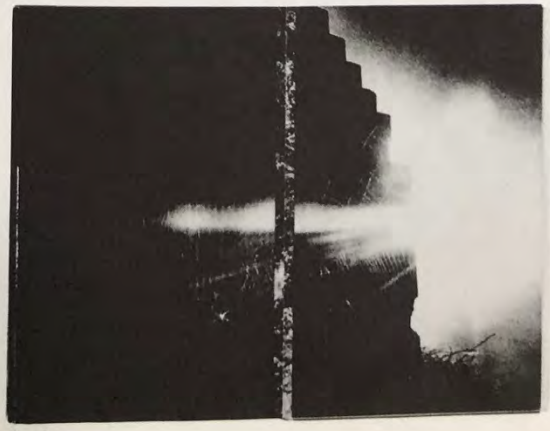

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りの2分冊で、出版社への
ン用として1964年から65年
と川田喜久治の写真レイ
ザインによって1部のみ制
書」は原爆ドームの壁や天
た写真のみで構成され、8
には岩田宏による詩の掲
た。「第Ⅱの書」は廃墟やオ
撮影したモニュマンで構
の写真は撮影ネガからス
たものをミニ・コピー・フィ
コントラストのネガを作り、
い印画紙(CHペーパー)
プリントをゴム糊で接着。
用いて製本加工したそれ
したものがこのダミー版

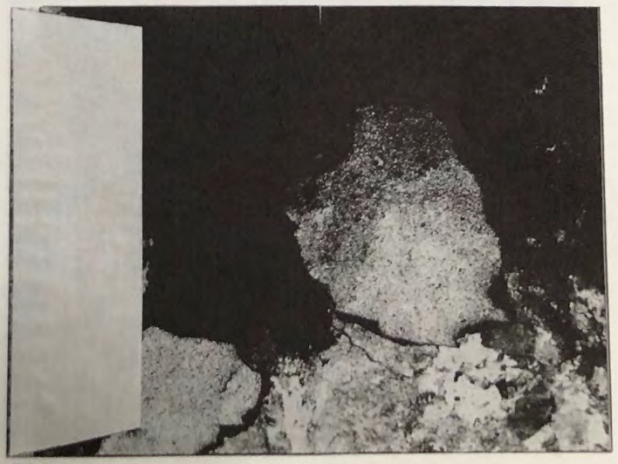
)×20cm、厚み約1.8cm
開き、第Ⅱの書47見開き
パブリック・ライブラリー

ハードケース、中仕切り

第Ⅰの書

第Ⅱの書

第Ⅰの書　表紙ジャケット



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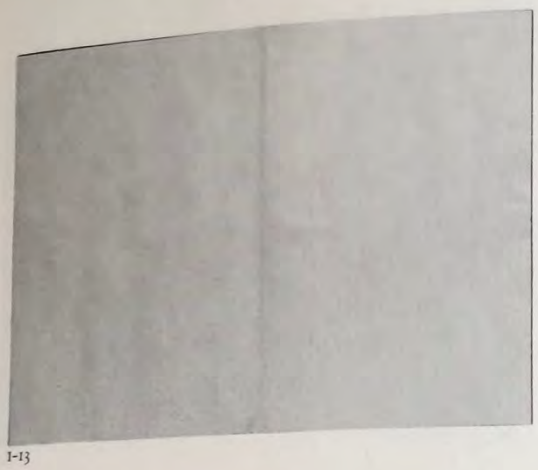

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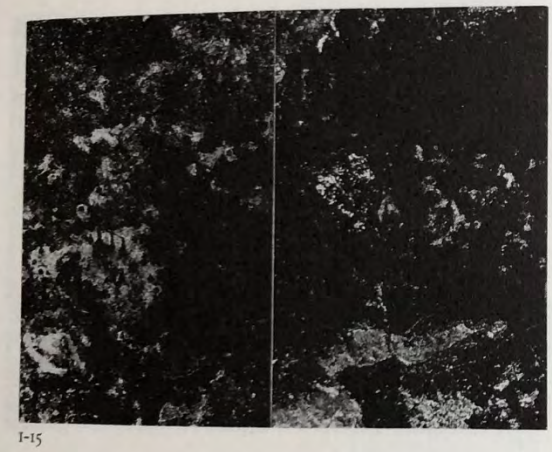

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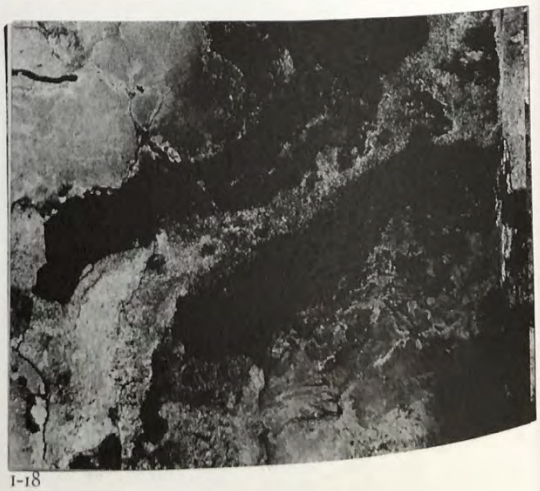

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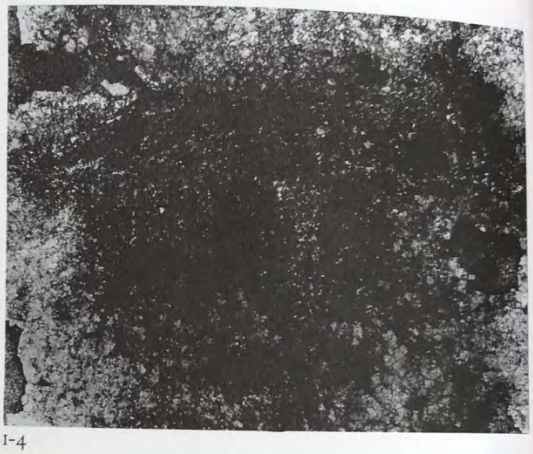

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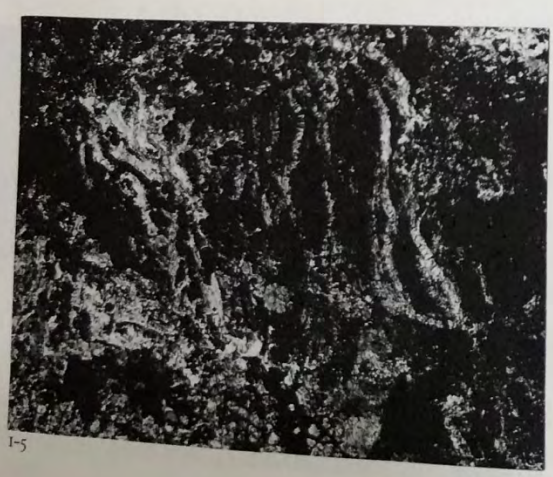

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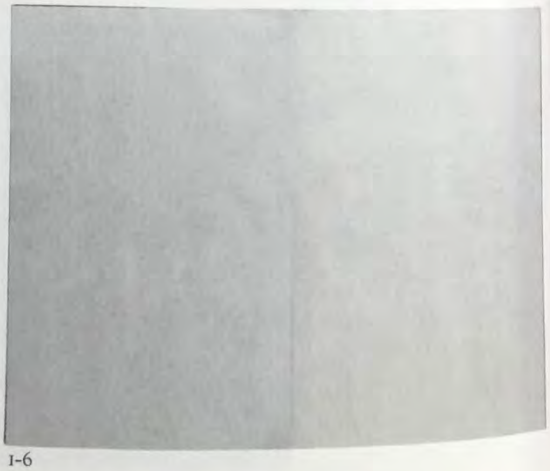

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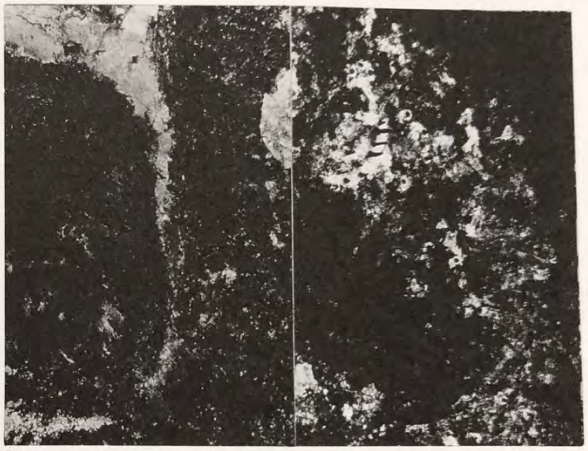

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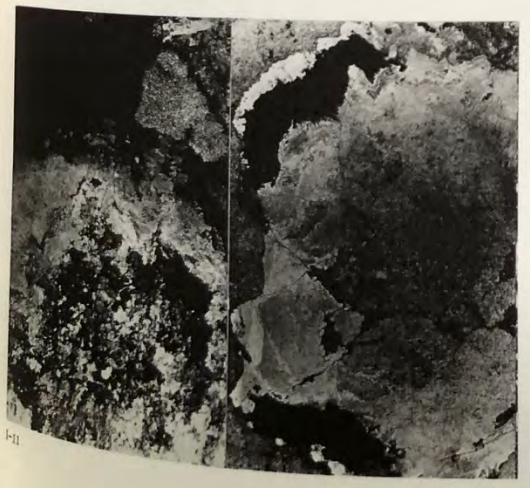

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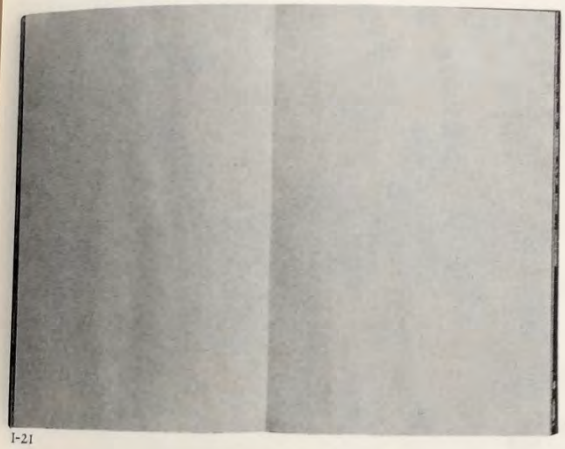

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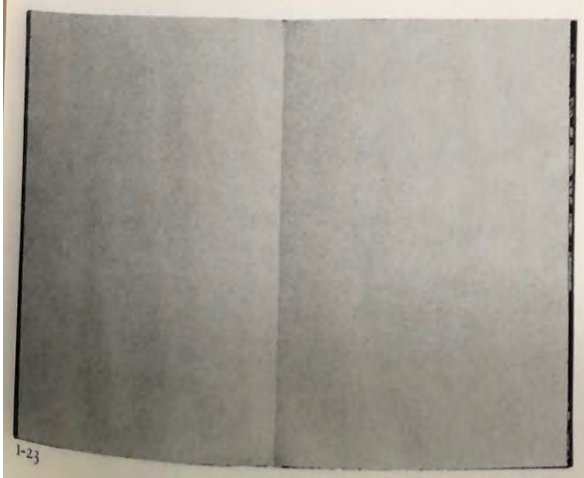

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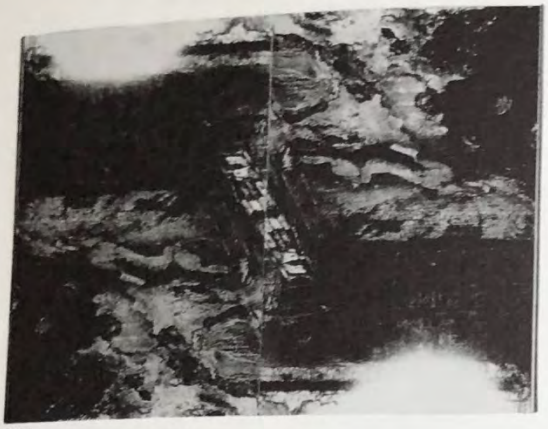

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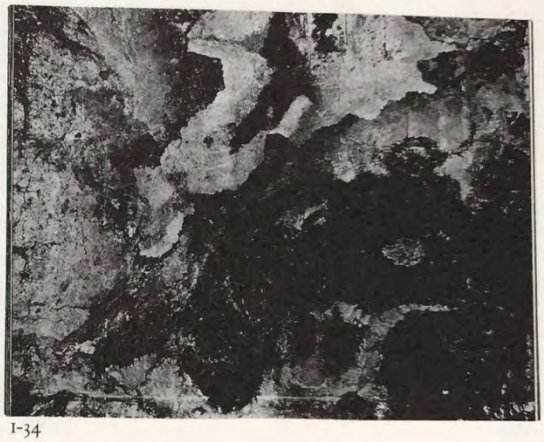

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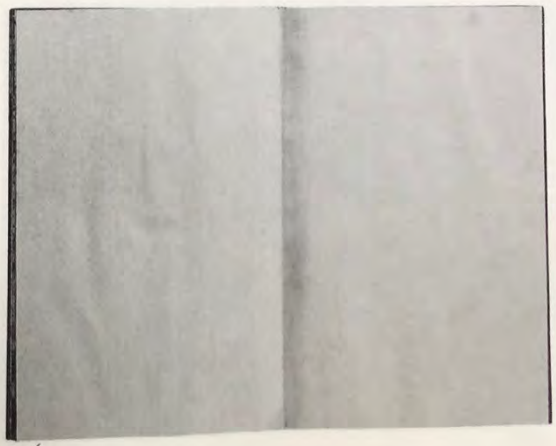

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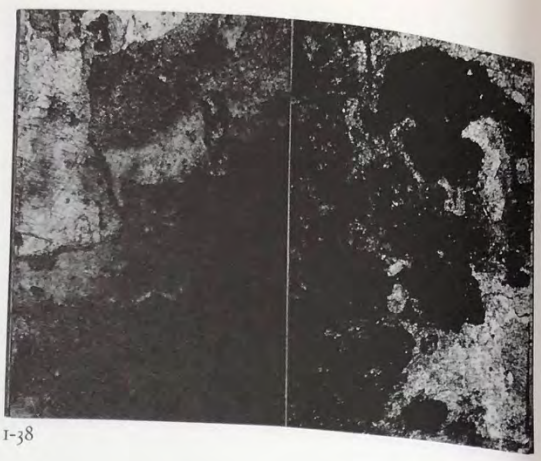

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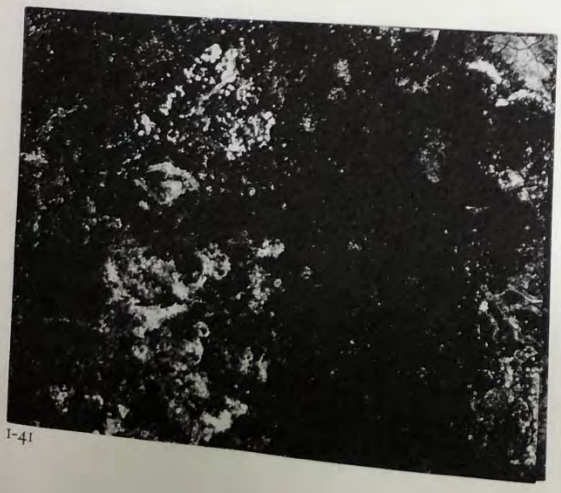

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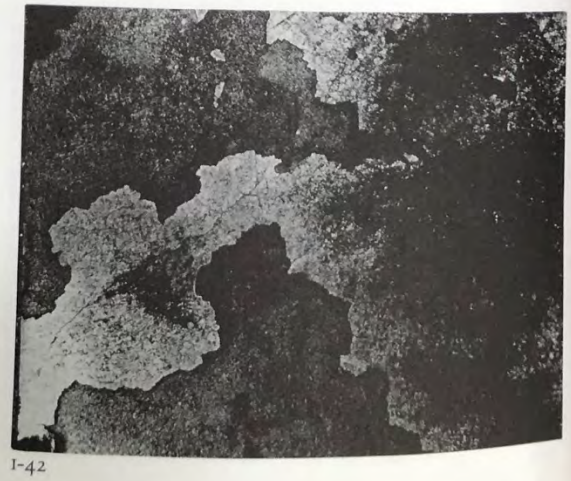

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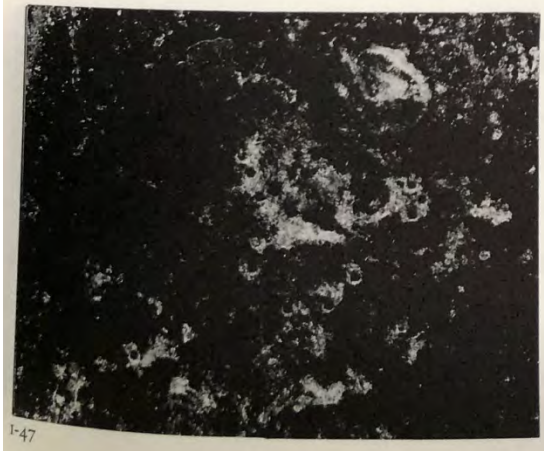

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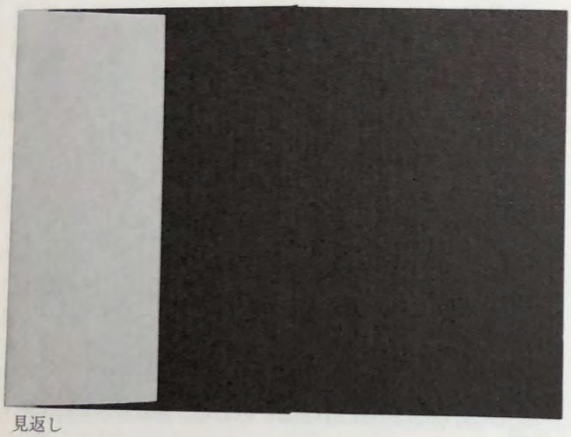

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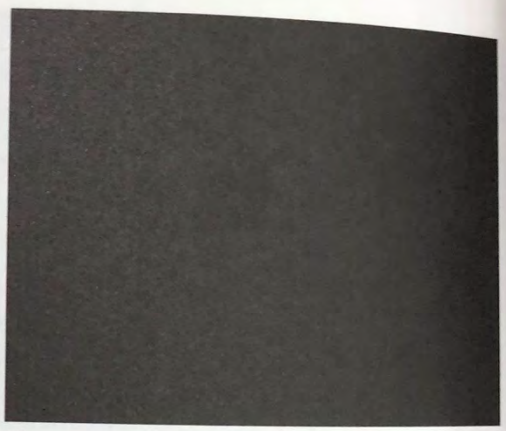

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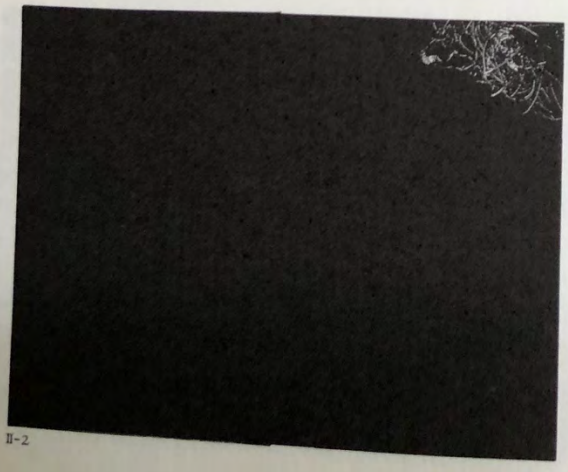

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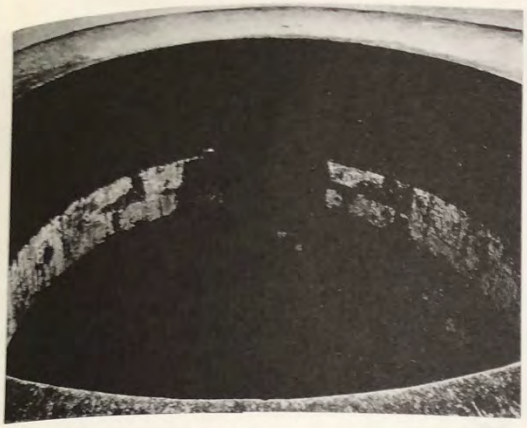

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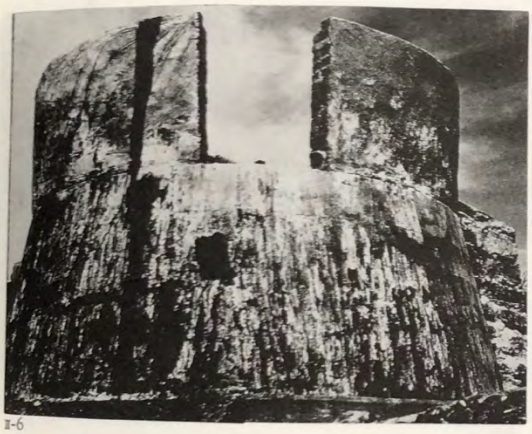

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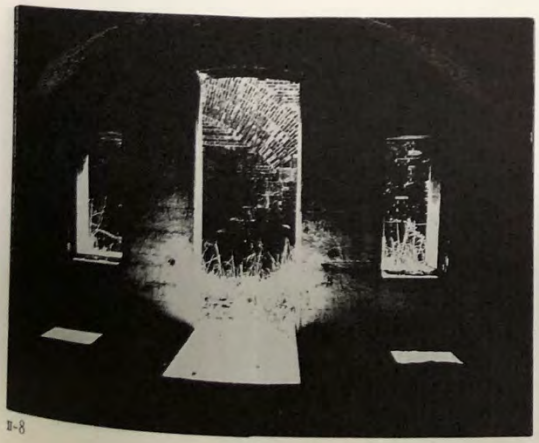

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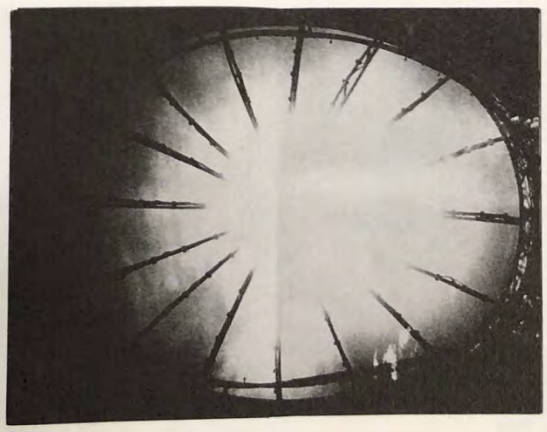

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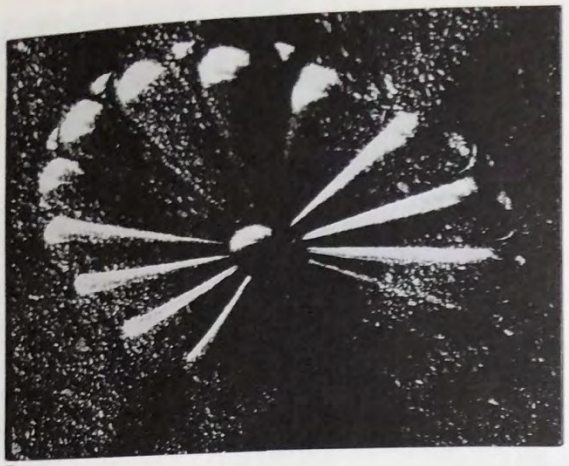

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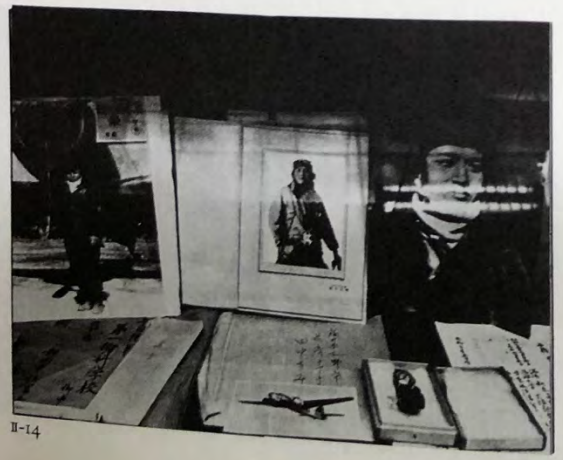

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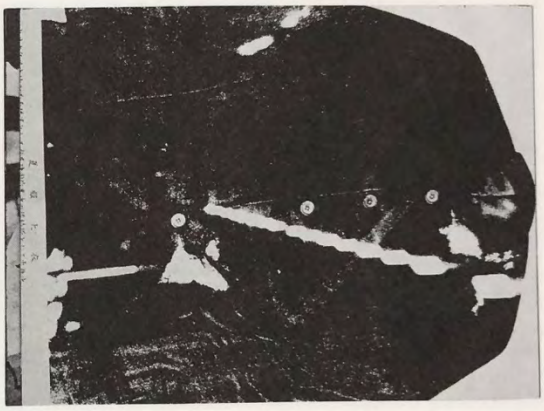

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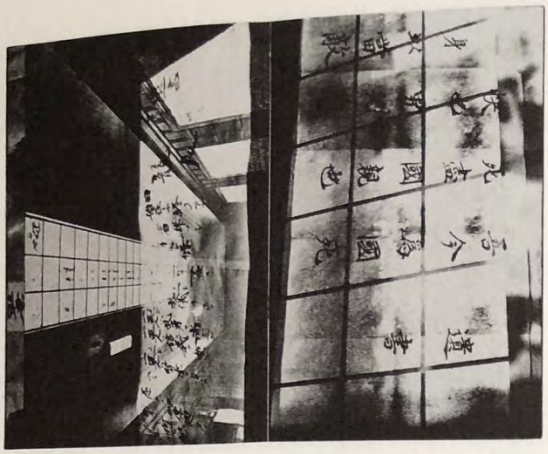

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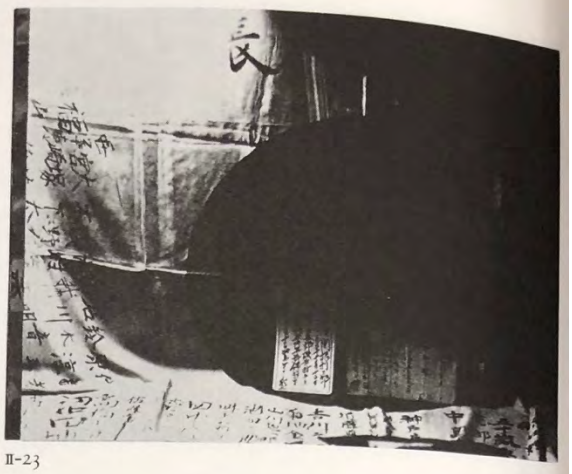

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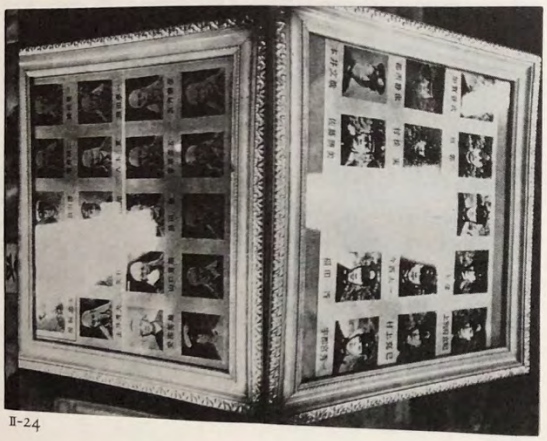

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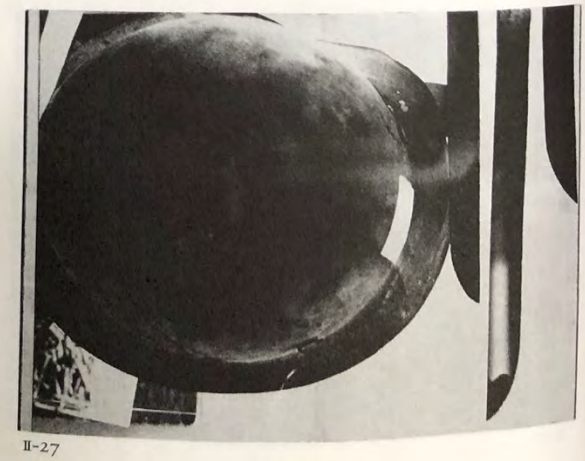

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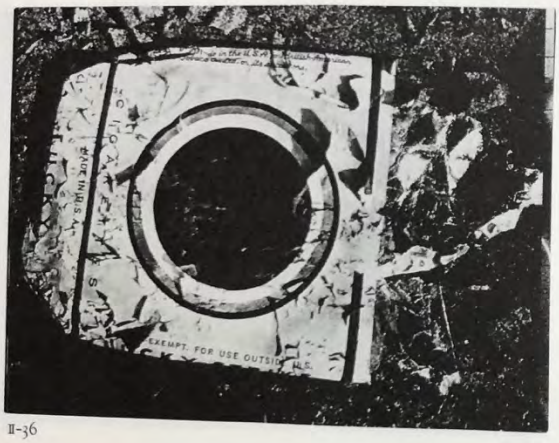

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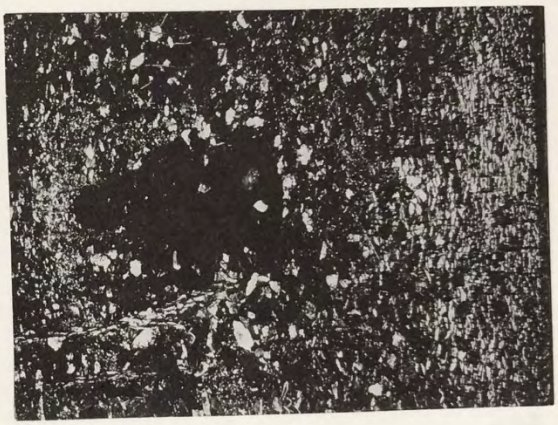

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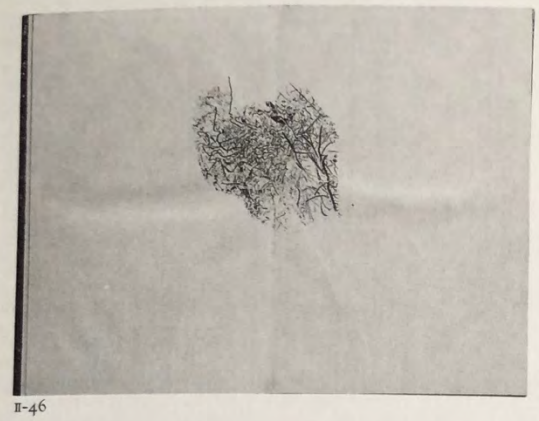
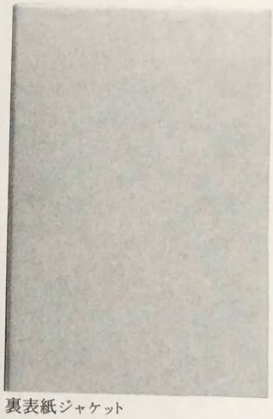


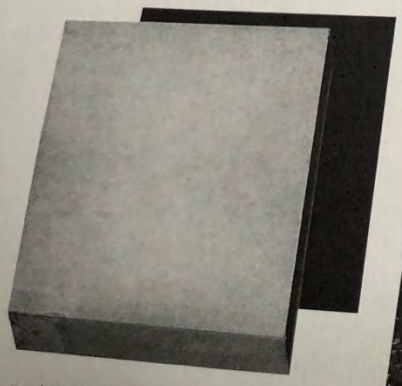
Ⅱ-46

Ⅱ-47

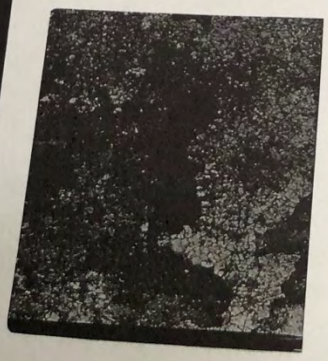
見返し

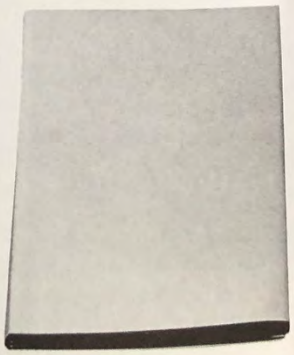


裏表紙ジャケット



書影(ケース、中仕切り、第Ⅰの書、第Ⅱの書)





Appendix II - Foreword to *Chizu* (*The Map*), by Ōe Kenzaburō, as it appears in English and Japanese in the original 1965 edition.

<MAP>—KENZABURŌ ŌE

the memory of my first encounter with the violence of
this world goes back to a day
near the end of the war.
I went astray from an excursion party
in a local city, when a boy, older than I,
suddenly came up to me and
struck me down, with my cheek pressed on the ground
stained with heavy oil, it really appeared
to me like a map of the world
full of violence, which I was to live in thenceforth

whenever I look at the pictures,
subtle, monomaniac and in deep dark,
of the photographer of the MAP
I go back to the distant memory of my own.
innumerable maps have I seen since that day,
but no map was so real and definite as the one
I found on the soiled ground and on which
I poured tears of indignation and fear.

the unique style of the photographer of the
MAP is clearly down on the picture of
dark and minute surfaces of walls,
which is much repeated.
He must be seeing there his own map of
the violent world, I believe.

I like the attitude of an artist
who hoists the flag of his unmistakable style
and takes an attack in front.
he is fighting a hard battle, but win or lose,
he will at any time remain proper himself.

his style, based on real darkness,
gives the acute and violent light the most crucial position
which it has never acquired in the field of photograph.
the brilliant of the skylight,
the rays around the imperial crest of
the chrysanthemum and the ATOMIC DOME,
the wrinkled rising-sun flag and

a naval ensign; all of them
testify the violence of the light.

it was by far the most violent rays
that carved the shadows of
unknown dead persons, veritable maps in
human shape, on the stones in HIROSHIMA.
with this map in our hands, we set out to
a new journey, but to where should we struggle along?

here war is simple like a monument;
a telephone is speaking to a man;
flags on a map assert that troops were sent;
a boy brings milk in bowls. there is a plan

for living men in terror of their lives,
who thirst at nine who were to thirst at noon,
and can be lost and are, and miss their wives,
and, unlike an idea, can die too soon.

but ideas can be true although men die,
and we can watch a thousand faces
made active by one lie:
and maps can really point to places
where life is evil now:
NANKING; DACHAU.

W.H. AUDEN

the tokens left in ETAJIMA by men of the
SPECIAL ATTACK corps tell us awkwardly
the sadly, insensible, somewhat
grotesque, shrinked and petrified spirits,
the lost imagination and the thoughts
which has died before soldiers died.
and still it’s not clear where on the world map
life is evil now, to the eyes of
a man actually living there on.

a map is usually full of calm order.
however, the map which really
indicates to us this violent world is not the one like that.
it is the map which I gazed on
the dirty ground on a summer day of my childhood,

and also that one in deep dark,
of which our photographer of the
MAP persistently continues to take pictures.

〈MAP〉——————大江健三郎

僕と，この世界の暴力的なるものとの，
最初の出会いの日の思い出は，
あの戦争の終り近いころのことで，
地方都市に遠足にでかけて行った僕が，
行列にはぐれて途方にくれていると，
突然あらわれた年上の男が，
やにわに僕を殴りつけたのだった。
僕はひっくりかえり，
地面に頬をおしつけ，
そして傷ついた眼のすぐまじかに，ひとつの地図を見た。
それは重油に汚れた，
ひとかたまりの地面にすぎなかったが，
僕にはそれが，これから生きてゆくべき，
暴力にみちた世界の地図のように見えたのだった。

僕は，MAPの写真家の，
黒暗暗として精緻かつ偏執狂的な画面に接するたびに，
僕自身の個人的な思い出にたちもどってゆく。

あの日から，僕は数しれない地図を見てきたが，
僕が重油に汚れた地面のうえに見出し，
それにひとしずくの憤激と恐怖の涙をこぼした，
あの地図ほどにも具体的な真の地図を二度と見たろうか？

MAPの写真家の独自のスタイルは，
くりかえしあらわれる，黒ぐろとして細密な壁面の写真に，
いかにも卒直かつ明快にあきらかだが，かれもまた，
かれ自身の，この暴力的な
世界の地図をそこに見出すのだろう。

僕はこのようにもまぎれないかれ自身のスタイルを
旗じるしにかかげて，そして正面から
攻撃をかけるタイプの芸術家の態度が好きだ。
かれの戦いは困難だが，
勝つにしても負けるにしても，
かれはつねに，もっとも正統的なかれ自身である。

黒暗暗としたスタイルは，
荒あらしく鋭い光に，
それがフイルムの領域でかつて獲たことのないほどの
力強い位置をあたえる。
天窓の光輝，菊の紋章，原爆ドームをめぐる光，
皺だらけの日の丸，軍艦旗，
それらすべて暴力的な光の所在をあかしている。

荒あらしい光のうちなる，
もっとも荒あらしい光が広島の石にきざみこんだ，
無名の死者の影，人間のかたちをした地図。
この地図をひらいて旅立ったわれわれは，
どこへたどりつくべく旅立ったのか？

ここでは戦争は一枚の石碑のやうに単純だ。
電話一台，一人の男にしやべつてゐる。
一枚の地図の上の旗じるしは大隊の派遣先を主張する。
一人の少年がミルクを碗に盛つて持つてくる。

生命の危険におののく生きた兵隊，
九時に乾いてた喉は正午(ひる)でも乾いてゐる，
いつでも死ねるし，死ぬんだし，女房を淋しがり，
観念ぢアあるまいし，いつでも消え得る兵隊に一枚のプランがある。

だが兵隊は死んでも観念は真であり得る，
一千の顔面が一片の虚偽によつて
活躍するところをわたしたちは拝見し得る
それに地図でもまちがひなく指示し得る
いま，どこで生が悪であるかを——
南京，ダッハ・アウ。
W・H・オーデン　深瀬基寛訳

死んだ特攻隊の兵隊たちが，江田島にのこした遺品は，
もの悲しいが鈍感でグロテスクな，萎縮して石化した精神，
うしなわれた想像力，
兵隊が死ぬまえに死んでしまった観念を訥弁にかたっている。
そしていまもなお，われわれの地図のうえに，
どこで生が悪であるかは，
現にそこで生活している者の眼に，あきらかでない。

地図はつねに静かな秩序にみちている。
しかしこの暴力的な世界を，
真にさし示す地図はそのようなものではなく，
僕が子供の夏，汚れた地面に見た地図だし，
MAPの写真家が執拗に写しつづける
黒暗暗たる地図である。